

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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THE JOHNS HOPKINS PRESS
BALTIMORE

Eight Numbers a Year—Single Copy (Current) Thirty-Five Cents

Entered as Second-Class Matter at the Baltimore, Maryland, Postoffice

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

A MONTHLY PUBLICATION (with inter-
mission from July to October inclusive)

This publication is devoted to linguistic and literary research and to aesthetic and philosophic criticism in the domain of English, German, and the related Germanic Languages; and of French, Italian, Spanish, and the other Languages of the Romance Group. Its purpose is also to promote sound methods in the teaching of the Modern Languages and Literatures.

The Subscription Price of the current annual volume
is \$2.00 for the United States and Mexico; \$2.25
for other countries included in the Postal Union.

Contributors and Publishers will please address matter for the English Department of the Notes to James W. Bright; for the German Department to William Kurrelmeyer; for the French Department to Murray P. Brush; and for the Italian and Spanish Departments to J. E. Shaw. Other matter may be sent to the Editor-in-Chief. The address of all the editors is Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, Md.

Subscriptions and other business communications should be sent to the Johns Hopkins Press, Baltimore, Md.

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35 West 32nd Street, New York

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOLUME XXXI

APRIL, 1916

NUMBER 4

SOURCE-MATERIAL FOR JONSON'S PLAYS

PART I

Source-noting is an interesting occupation. Fortunately it is also useful, since we cannot place a writer historically until we have found out what he got from others and how he used what he took. Comparative literature, too, owes what solidity it has as an intellectual discipline to the patient accumulation of innumerable bits of evidence of this character. The following list of parallels, scrappy as it is in the main, has its value from both of these points of view. I do not think that, except in one or two stated cases, any of these instances has been hitherto noticed. The text of the passages quoted from Jonson is taken from my copies of the various folios, but the line numbering is, except for prose passages, that of the Yale Series for plays included therein; for *Sejanus*, the numbering is that of the Belles Lettres edition.

Alchemist

Dedication.

"In the age of sacrifices, the truth of religion was not in the greatnesse, & fat of the offerings, but in the deuotion, and zeale of the sacrificers: Else, what could a handfull of gummes haue done in the sight of a hecatombe? or, how might I appeare at this altar, except with those affections," etc.

Seneca, *De Ben.*, I, vi, 3: "Non est beneficium ipsum, quod numeratur aut traditur: sicut ne in victimis quidem, licet opimæ sint auroque præfulgeant, deorum est honor, sed pia ac recta voluntate venerantium. itaque boni etiam farre ac fitilla religiosi sunt, mali rursus non effugiunt impietatem, quamvis aras sanguine multo cruentaverint."

So in the Dedication of Folio 1623: "And many nations (we have heard) that had not gums and incense, obtained their requests with a leavened cake. It was no fault to approach their gods, by what means they could: and the most, though meanest, of things are made more precious, when they are dedicated to temples."

In the quarto Dedication the above passage is followed by these lines: "Or how, yet, might a gratefull minde be furnish'd against the iniquitie of Fortune; except, when she fail'd it, it had power to impart it selfe? A way found out, to ouercome euen those, whom Fortune hath enabled to returne most, since they, yet leaue themselves more."¹ Here again Jonson has in mind the thought which Seneca again and again expresses, that in returning a benefit it is not the value of the thing returned but the mind in which the return is made that is of importance. More especially, he has in mind the speech of Æschines to Socrates, *ibid.*, viii: "nihil . . . dignum te, quod dare tibi possim, invenio et hoc uno modo pauperem me esse sentio? itaque dono tibi quod unum habeo, me ipsum. hoc munus rogo qualecunque est boni consulas cogitesque alios, cum multum tibi darent, plus sibi reliquisse."

I, i.

Face and Subtle are brought in quarrelling. In the course of the quarrel Face describes the situation in which he found Subtle (at Pie-corner, taking in a meal of steam from the cooks' stalls, pinned up in rags, etc.), and then goes on to say that he will undo all his good work and bring Subtle, because of his ingratitude, to ruin. Compare the soliloquy of Argyrippus in Plautus, *Asinaria*, I, ii:

Ego (pol) te redigam eodem unde orta es, ad egestatis terminos.
Ego (edepol) te faciam, ut, quæ sis nunc, et quæ fueris, scias.
Quæ, priusquam istam adii, atque amans ego animum meum isti dedi,
Sordido vitam oblectabas pane, in pannis, inopia;
Atque, ea si erant, magnas habebas omnibus Diis gratias;
Eadem nunc, quom est melius, me, quojus opera est, ignoras, mala.

Bartholomew Fair

II, v, 29-37.

Vrs. Hang 'em, rotten, roguy Cheaters, I hope to see 'hem plagu'd one day (pox'd they are already, I am sure) with leane

¹ Text from Hathaway's edition.

play-house poultry, that has the boany rumpe, sticking out like the Ace of Spades, or the point of a Partizan, that euey rib of 'hem is like the tooth of a Saw: and will so grate 'hem with their hips, & shoulders, as (take 'hem altogether) they were as good lye with a hurdle.

Qvar. Out vpon her, how she drips! she's able to giue a man the sweating Sicknesse, with looking on her.

This passage seems adapted from Martial, XI, c:

Habere amicam nolo, Flacce, subtilem,
Cuius lacertos anuli mei cingant,
Quae clune nudo radat et genu pungat,
Cui serra lumbis, cuspis emicet culo.
Sed idem amicam nolo mille librarum:
Carnarius sum, pinguiarius non sum.

Catiline

The sources of *Catiline* have never been satisfactorily exhibited. Whalley, Gifford, Saegelken (*Ben Jonson's Römerdramen*, 1880), and Vogt (*Ben Jonson's Catiline*, etc., 1903) have all done something, but even the debt of Jonson to Sallust and Cicero has not been thoroughly worked out. There is, I believe, an unprinted Yale thesis on *Catiline* by A. L. Wright (Schelling, *Eliz. Drama*, II, 499), but no one knows what it contains. I shall not attempt to discuss the matter fully, and shall not deal with Sallust and Cicero, but shall merely call attention to a few borrowings from other sources.

I, i,

as he would

Goe on vpon the gods, kisse lightning, etc.

Seneca, *Medea*, 424-5:

invadam deos
et cuncta quatiā.

The character of Cethegus owes some hints to that of Capaneus in Statius; Cethegus refers to Capaneus as his ideal and quotes from Statius in IV, 5.

I, i,

It is, me thinks, a morning, full of fate!
It riseth slowly, as her sullen carre

Had all the weights of sleepe, and death hung at it! . . .
And her sick head is bound about with clouds.

Perhaps suggested by Lucan; *Phars.*, I, 232-5:

iamque dies primos belli uisura tumultus
exoritur. seu sponte deum, seu turbidus Auster
impulerat, maestam tenuerunt nubila lucem.

The rugged Charon fainted,
And ask'd a nauy, rather then a boate,
To ferry ouer the sad world that came.

Petronius, 121, ll. 117-9:

vix navita Porthmeus
sufficiet simulacra virum traducere cumba;
classe opus est.

Seneca, *Œdipus*, 166 ff.:

quique capaci turbida cumba
flumina servat durus senio
navita erudo, vix assiduo
bracchia conto lassata refert,
fessus turbam vectare novam.

Neither Charon nor his weariness nor the necessity of a fleet are to be found in Lucan, whom, as Whalley says, Jonson is utilizing here.

I, i.

Vogt says that the representation of the luxurious life of the Roman nobles given by Catiline in his speech is based on Jonson's knowledge of the Roman satirists, but that no special sources can be given. This statement is not quite accurate. The whole speech would seem to be inspired by Petronius, 119 and following sections, and one or two of the details come thence.

The riuer Phasis
Cannot affoord 'hem fowle; nor Lucrine lake
Oysters enow:
To please the witty gluttony of a meale.

Petronius, ll. 34-8:

atque Lucrinis
eruta litoribus verdunt conchylia cenas,
ut renovent per damna famem. iam Phasidos unda

orbata est avibus, mutoque in litore tantum
solae desertis adspirant frondibus aerae.

And cf. the 'ingeniosa gula' of l. 33:

yet, they cannot tame,
Or ouer-come their riches! Not, by making
Bathes, orchards, fish-pooles! letting in of seas
Here! and, then there, foreing 'hem out againe,
With mountaynous heaps.

Petronius, ll. 85-9:

aspice late
luxuriam spoliolum et censum in damna furem
expelluntur aquae saxis, mare nascitur arvis,
et permutata rerum statione rebellant.

But the principal borrowings from this poem of Petronius are to be found in the chorus at the end of the first act, to which Whalley and Gifford have called attention.

I, chorus:

Can nothing great, and at the height
Remaine so long? but it's owne weight
Will ruine it?

Livy, I, Praef. 4: et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit, ut iam magnitudine laboret sua. Vogt, 16-17, cites Horace, *Epode* XVI, 1, which is also apt, and his statement that Gifford is mistaken in finding the source of the opening of this chorus in Petronius is quite correct.

II, i:

You thinke, this state becomes you?
By Hercvles, it do's not. Looke i' your glasse, now,
And see, how sciruely that countenance shewes;
You would be loth to owne it.

Seneca, *De Ira*, II, xxxvi: "Quibusdam, ut ait Sextius, iratis profuit adspexisse speculum. perturbavit illos tanta mutatio sui."

II, i,

I am, now, faine to giue to them, and keepe
Musique, and a continuall table, to inuite 'hem.

Cf. Martial, II, lvi:

Sed mera narrantur mendacia: non solet illa
Accipere omnino. Quid solet ergo? Dare.

And compare the 'numerare solet' of XI, lxii.

II, i.

If you doe this to practise on me' or finde
At what fore'd distance you can hold your seruant;
That 'it be an artificiaall trick, to enflame,
And fire me more, fearing my loue may need it,
As, heretofore, you ha' done: why, proceede.
Fvl. As I ha' done heretofore? *Cvr.* Yes, when you'd faine
Your husbands iealousie, your servants watches,
Speake softly, and runne often to the dore,
Or to the windore, forme strange feares that were not;
As if the pleasure were lesse acceptable,
That were secure. *Fvl.* You are an impudent fellow.
Cvr. And, when you might better haue done it, at the gate,
To take me in at the casement. *Fvl.* I take you in?
Cvr. Yes, you my lady. And, then, being a-bed with you,
To haue your well taught wayter, here, come running,
And cry, her lord, and hide me without cause,
Crush'd in a chest, or thrust vp in a chimney.

From Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, III, 601 ff.:

Inciat et ficti tristis custodia servi
Et nimium duri cura molesta viri.
Quae venit ex tuto, minus est accepta voluptas:
Ut sis liberior Thaïde, finge metus!
Cum melius foribus possis, admitte fenestra
Inquē tuo vultu signa timentis habe;
Callida prosiliat dicatque ancilla 'perimus!'
Tu iuvenem trepidum quolibet abde loco!

Saegelken, 27, and Vogt, 21, are hence mistaken in citing Horace as the source of this passage.

III, i:

Nor haue but few of them, in time beene made
Your Consuls, so; new men, before me, none:
At my first suite; in my iust yeere; preferd
To all competitors, etc.

Cicero, *De Officiis*, II, xvii: Nobis quoque licet in hoc quodam modo gloriari; nam pro amplitudine honorum, quos cunctis suffragiis adepti sumus nostro quidem anno, quod contigit eorum nemini, quos modo nominavi, etc.

III, i,

Each petty hand
Can steere a ship becalm'd; but he that will
Gouerne, and carry her to her ends, must know, etc.

Seneca, *Epistulae*, lxxxv, 34: Non tamquam gubernatori, sed tamquam naviganti nocet [tempestas] . alioquin gubernatoris artem adeo non inedit, ut ostendat: tranquillo enim, ut aiunt, quilibet gubernator est. navigio ista obsunt, non rectori eius, qua rector est. Vogt, p. 23, suggests Horace, Odes I, xiv, but there is no similarity between the two passages.

III, i:

Repulse vpon repulse? An in-mate, Consul?
That I could reach the axell, where the pinnes are,
Which bolt this frame; that I might pull 'hem out,
And pluck all into chaos, with my selfe. . . .
Who would not fall with all the world about him?

Gifford found the source of the last line in Seneca, *Thyestes*, 883-4:

vitae est avidus quisquis non vult
mundo secum pereunte mori.

But these lines are at the end of a mournful chorus, and the meaning is: When the world dies, who would wish to survive it? Catiline has a different meaning: When I die, let me pull down the world to destruction with me. This is precisely the meaning of Rufinus, in Claudian, *In Rufinum*, II, 17 ff.:

Quid restat, nisi cuncta novo confundere luctu
Insontesque meae populos miscere ruinae?
Everso iuvat orbe mori. Solacia leto
Exitium commune dabit, nec territus ante, etc.

III, ii, 1 ff.

Is there a heauen? and gods? and can it be
They should so slowly heare, so slowly see!
Hath Iove no thunder?

Seneca, *Phaedra*, 671-2:

Magne regnator deum,
tam lentus audis scelera? tam lentus vides?
et quando saeva fulmen emittes manu,
si nunc serenum est?

III, ii,

He acts the third crime, that defends the first.

Presumably the second crime would be the not repenting, and the third the defending. Cf. *Sententiae falso inter Publilianas receptae*, ed. Woelfflin, 147: *Geminat peccatum, quem delicti non pudet.*

III, ii:

Ambition, like a torrent, ne're looks back;
And is a swelling, and the last affection
A high minde can put off.

Seneca, *Epi.* lxxxiv, 11: *relinque ambitum: tumida res est, vana, ventosa.* Cicero, *De Officiis*, I, viii: *Est autem in hoc genere molestum, quod in maximis animis splendidissimisque ingeniis plerumque existunt honoris, imperii, potentiae, gloriae cupiditates.* Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion*, ed. 1826, I, 62: Ambition "is a weed (if it be a weed) apt to grow in the best soils." Milton, *Lycidas*, 70-1: Desire of fame is "That last infirmity of Noble mind." Dryden, *Abs. and Achit.*, I, 305 ff.:

Desire of power, on earth a vicious weed,
Yet sprung from high is of celestial seed;
In God 'tis glory, and when men aspire,
'Tis but a spark too much of heavenly fire.

And *ibid.*, 372:

Desire of greatness is a god-like sin.

Massinger, *Very Woman*, v, iv:

Though the desire of fame be the last weakness
Wise men put off.

Sir John van Olden Barneveldt, I, i:

And you shall find that the desire of glory
Was the last frailty wise men ere putt of.

III, iii.

Caes Be resolute,
And put your enterprise in act: the more
Actions of depth, and danger are consider'd,
The lesse assuredly they are perform'd

Plutarch, *The Apothegms of Kings*, Transl. 1870, I, 247: Cæsar said "great and surprising enterprises were not to be consulted upon but done."

III, chorus, 1 ff.

What is it, heauens, you prepare
 With so much swiftnesse, and so sodaine rising?
 There are no sonnes of earth, that dare,
 Againe, rebellion? or the gods surprising?
 The world doth shake, and nature feares.

Seneca, *Thyestes*, 803 ff.:

quae causa tuos limite certo
 deiecit equos? numquid aperto
 carcare Ditis victi temptant
 bella Gigantes? numquid Tityos
 pectore fesso renovat veteres
 saucius iras?

IV, ii:

For fall I will with all, ere fall alone.

Claudian, *In Rufinum*, II, 166-7:

Haec cervix non sola cadet, miscebitur alter
 Sanguis, nec Stygias ferar incommitatus ad undas.

IV, ii,

Catiline, in the course of his answer to the charges against him, suddenly turns threateningly upon Cicero, who calls for help. Thereupon Catiline disclaims any intention of doing him harm. There is nothing corresponding to this passage in Sallust or Cicero's orations, and it is probable that Jonson was thinking of the similar incident in the eleventh book of the *Aeneid*, 406 ff. Turnus, speaking against the proposals of Drances:

vel cum se pavidum contra mea iurgia fingit,
 artificis scelus, et formidine crimen acerbat.
 numquam animam talem dextra hac (absiste moveri)
 amittes.

So Catiline:

In vaine thou do'st conceiue, ambitious orator,
 Hope of so braue a death, as by this hand.

V, i, 5 ff.

We not, now,
 Fight for how long, how broad, how great, and large
 Th' extent, and bounds o' th' people of Rome shall be;
 But to retaine what our great ancestors

The quarrell is not, now, of fame, of tribute,
 but for your owne republique,
 For the rais'd temples of th' immortall gods,
 For all your fortunes, altars, and your fires,
 For the deare soules of your lou'd wiues, and children,
 Your parents tombes, your rites, lawes, libertie,
 And, briefly, for the safety of the world.

There is a rather striking resemblance, though I daresay there is no reason to suppose borrowing, since the ideas are what would naturally come up in the mind of a dramatist on such an occasion, to a passage in Robert Garnier's *Cornelie*, ed. Foerster, 1639 ff.:

Nous ne combattons point pour raur des thresors,
 Nous ne combattons point pour eslargir nos bors,
 Pour vne gloire acquerre, et laisser estooffees
 Aux races aduenir nos maisons de trophees:
 Mais bien nous combatons pour nostre liberte,
 Pour le peuple Romain par la crainte escarté:
 Nous combattons, enfans, pour nostre propre vie,
 Pour les biens, les honneurs, les loix, et la patrie:
 Ores le bien, l'Empire, et l'estat des Romains,
 (Le vray prix du vainqueur) balance entre nos mains.

V, iv:

Gab. Is there a law for't, Cato? *Cat.* Do'st thou aske
 After a law, that would'st haue broke all lawes . . . ?

Cf. Martial, II, lx:

Iam mihi dices
 "Non licet hoc." Quid? tu quod facis, Hyllé, licet?

Devil is an Ass

III, iii, 40-2.

Mer. You doe not thinke, what you owe me already? *Ev.* I?
 They owe you, that meane to pay you. I'll besworne,
 I neuer meant it.

Martial, *Ep.* II, iii: Debet enim, si quis solvere, Sexte, potest.
 So in Brathwait's *The Mushrome*, in *A Strappado for the Divell*,
 1615, see reprint of 1878, p. 135:

For he is said to aw that menes to pay.

And in Samuel Sheppard's *Epigrams*, 1651, p. 107:

To J. Buzby.
 Th' art not in debt, (thou swear'st) and I dare say it,
 For those alone do owe, that meane to pay it.

In all these cases Martial's 'potest' is translated by 'means'; intention is substituted for power.

Epicoene

Prologue, 8-9:

Our wishes, like to those (make publique feasts)
Are not to please the cookes tastes, but the guests.

Martial, ix, lxxxii:

Non nimium curo: nam cenae fercula nostrae
Malim convivis quam placuisse cocis.

It will be observed that this passage supplies the figure that runs through the entire prologue. The passage from *Neptune's Triumph*, cited by Dr. Henry, is based on the same figure.

I, i, 23 ff.

Trv. Why, here's the man that can melt away his time, and neuer feeles it! what, betweene his mistris abroad, and his engle at home, high fare, soft lodging, fine clothes, and his fiddle; hee thinks the houres ha' no wings, or the day no post-horse. Well, sir gallant, were you strooke with the plague this minute, or condemn'd to any capitall punishment to morrow, you would beginne then to thinke, and value euery article o' your time, esteeme it at the true rate, and giue all for't,

Cle. Why, what should a man doe?

Trv. Why, nothing: or that, which when 'tis done, is as idle. Harken after the next horse-race, or hunting-match; lay wagers, praise Puppy, or Pepper-corne, White-foote, Franklin; sweare vpon White-maynes partie; spend aloud, that my lords may heare you; visite my ladies at night, and bee able to giue 'hem the character of euery bowler, or better o' the greene. These be the things, wherein your fashionable men exercise themselues, and I for companie.

Cle. Nay, if I haue thy authoritie, I'll not leaue yet. Come, the other are considerations, when wee come to haue gray heads, and weake hammes, moist eyes, and shrunke members. Wee'll thinke on 'hem then; then wee'll pray, and fast.

Trv. I, and destine onely that time of age to goodnesse, which our want of abilitie will not let vs employ in euill?

Cle. Why, then 'tis time enough.

Trv. Yes: as if a man should sleepe all the terme, and thinke to effect his businesse the last day. O, Clerimont, this time, because it is an incorporeall thing, and not subiect to sense, we mocke our selues the fineliest out of it, with vanitie, and miserie indeede: not seeking an end of wretchednesse, but onely changing the matter still.

Cle. Nay, thou'lt not leaue now—

Trv. See but our common disease! with what iustice can wee complaine, that great men will not looke vpon vs, not be at leisure to giue our affaires

such dispatch, as wee expect, when wee will neuer doe it to our selues: nor heare, nor regard our selues.

This whole passage is partly translation, partly adaptation of Seneca, *De Brevitate Vitae*. Lines 38-46, are practically a translation, with some rearrangements of ideas, of the following, III, 5: Non pudet te reliquias vitae tibi reservare et id solum tempus bonae menti destinare, quod in nullam rem conferri possit? quam serum est tunc vivere incipere, cum desinendum est? quae tam stulta mortalitatis oblivio in quinquagesimum et sexagesimum annum differre sana consilia et inde velle vitam inchoare, quo pauci perduxerunt? Lines 30-36 are an adaptation of III, 2: Dic, quantum ex isto tempore creditor, quantum amica, quantum rex, quantum cliens abstulerit. quantum lis uxoria, quantum servorum coercitio, quantum officiosa per urbem discursatio. When in l. 51 Truewit calls this complaining of the rapid passage of time 'our common disease,' he is echoing Seneca, who at the beginning of his treatise says that it is the complaint of the most of mankind. Lines 50 ff. translate II, 5: suus nemo est. Deinde dementissima quorundam indignatio est. queruntur de superiorum fastidio, quod ipsis adire volentibus non vacaverint: audet quisquam de alterius superbia queri, qui sibi ipse numquam vacat? Ille tamen te, quisquis est, insolenti quidem vultu, sed aliquando respexit . . . ille te ad latus suum recepit: tu non inspicere te umquam, non audire dignatus est. The rapidity of the flight of time and the fact that we fail to perceive its flight are ideas several times emphasized by Seneca. Finally, lines 23-29 seem inspired by the following passage, III, 4: non observatis, quantum iam temporis transierit. velut ex pleno et abundanti perditis, cum interim fortasse ille ipse qui alicui vel homini vel rei donatur dies ultimus sit.

V, i.

The purpose of this scene is to bring Daw and La-Foole to confess that they have anticipated Morose in the enjoyment of Epicoene, a confession for which Jonson has use in the development of the plot. The underlying motif, that of belying the fame of ladies, Jonson had already touched on in the *Alchemist*, II, ii:

belye

Ladies, who are knowne most innocent, for them,

and there are other references to it in his various works. Compare Lucian, *The Rhetorician's Vade Mecum*, Fowler's translation, III, 228: "And in private you need draw the line at nothing, gambling, drink, fornication, nor adultery; the last you should boast of, whether truly or not; make no secret of it, but exhibit your notes from real or imaginary frail ones." See also Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, II, 625 ff.

It is not, however, necessary to adduce a classical source, since there is any amount of evidence that this piece of gallantry was one of the characteristic marks of the man about town of Elizabethan days. I quote a number of illustrative passages, as commentators appear to have passed the subject.

Barnaby Rich, *Roome for a Gamester*, 1609, 27 verso: "Some to winne Opinion, are excellent in discourse at a table, they will talke of their owne activity, how many fraies they made in Fleetstreet, what Ladies and Gentlewomen came to visite them when they lay sicke of the tooth-ach, and they will sometimes vaunt of a favour from their mistres, that was scorned by the maide."

Brathwait, *Ar't Asleep Husband*, 1640, 136-7: "Yea, many of these will boast of your Favours: and in publique places speake liberally of your kindnesse. Beware of these; they are such spreading Tettters, as they will blemish the face of beauty: and ingage your Fame . . . to lasting infamy. For these will glory in their choice of Mistresses, and descant on their qualities."

Wilson, *History of Great Britain*, 1653, 147, sub anno 1620: "And such men as were affected to wantonness, would vulgarly brag of it; nay, many times to the traducing of a Ladies fame, and their own (I cannot say) innocence: For some would say, and vent it as an Apothegm, I would rather be thought to enjoy such a Lady, though I never did it, than really to enjoy her, and no body know it. Such pride was taken in sin, and so brazen-faced and impudent such crimes were then!"

Compare also, Fuller, *Holy State*, III, ch. iii, maxim 5, and note Howell's remark on the Spanish, *Letters*, ed. Jacobs, Book I, Section iii, Letter xxxii: "He is a great servant of Ladies, nor can he be blam'd, for, as I said before, he comes of a Goatish race; yet he never brags of, nor blazes abroad his doings that way, but is exceedingly careful of the repute of any Woman (a Civility that we much want in England)."

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NOTES ON THE RIMED FABLE IN ENGLAND

I. *The revival of the rimed fable in England in the seventeenth century*

From the days of the Scottish Henrisone to the end of the sixteenth century there seems to have been no collection of fables in English verse. Interest in the type was not dead; individual fables in verse and collections in prose prove this, and especially allusions to fable themes scattered generously through the literature. But the nearest approach in this period to a collection of fables in verse is to be found in some of the Emblem Books, where fable themes occur, not as fables, however, but as Emblems.¹

Samuel Rowlands must be considered as the herald of a new interest in riming fables which was to become something of a craze at the end of his century. His *Diogenes Lanthorne*, 1607, contained under the subtitle *Diogenes Moralls* ten fables which rattle themselves off in easy, commonplace doggerel. Some of these are of the old, traditional stock, and some of undetermined origin. One sets forth for the first time in English, I believe, and at a period sixty years before Boileau, the story of *The Oyster and the Disputants* popularized later by both Boileau and LaFontaine.² After Rowlands and before the middle of the century, three more verse collections appeared, all more extensive and all going directly under Aesop's colors.³

¹ See Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, 1586 (A fac-simile reprint, Henry Green, London, 1866), and Francis Thynne's *Emblemes and Epigrammes*, 1600, ed. F. J. Furnivall, E. E. T. S. 64.

² Complete Works of Samuel Rowlands, Hunterian Club, 1872/3, I, No. xv. The fable of *The Oyster and the Disputants*, No. 8, is interesting in the light of the fact that M. Regnier (*LaFontaine* II, 401-402) is able to give no exact analogues before Boileau's version of 1669. LaFontaine's version (IX, 9) appeared first in 1671. Rowlands' version introduces an unusual detail. One of the wayfarers is blind, but carries the other, who is lame. This situation complicates the dispute; for the blind man could not have found the oyster had not the lame man on his back pointed it out, nor could the other have come to it without the blind man's assistance.

³ *The Fabulist Metamorphosed and Mythologized, Or the Fables of Esop translated out of the Latin into English verse, and moralized* by R. A. Gentleman, printed for Andrew Hebb, 1634. (2) 1639, 113 fables of Aesop translated by William Barret for F. Eglesfield. I have been unable to

The first half of the seventeenth century thus marks the beginning of a revival in England of the rimed fable.⁴ What is the explanation of this revival, or first, what is the explanation of this wide hiatus in the line of continuation, this gap between Henrisone and Rowlands?

The explanation of the latter is probably to be found in large measure in the use of the fable in the schools. Henrisone found his fables already in verse, and naturally enough translated them into verse. The same had been true of Lydgate before him. To them Aesop was the "poete lawriate."⁵ The Latin elegiacs used by Henrisone were reprinted early in the sixteenth century, but their popularity had waned. On the other hand, every child was familiar with Aesop as a prose writer through the regular textbooks of the schools. In this age, Aesop was simply a teller of pithy stories, known by all, since studied by all, and hence a ready source

meet with this collection, or the following. See Plessow: *Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay*, Berlin, 1906, p. lxx, a useful but inadequate treatise. (3) 1650, *The Phrygian Fabulist: or, the Fables of Aesop* (231) by Leon Willan. (*Cat. of Printed Books, Brit. Mus. E. 1371.*) Prose *Aesops* in this period:—Two reprints of the old Caxton for A. Hebb in 1634 and 1637 respectively; *A Booke called Esops fables translated out of the Latyn into English. The Fables in prose and the Morall in verse with Pictures by H(enry) P(eacham) M(aster) of A(rts)* noticed in the *Sta. Reg.* (ed. Arber, iv, 428) on Jan. 28, 1638/9; 1646 for A. Hebb, *Aesop's Fables with the Fables of Phaedrus, translated verbatim* (from the Latin version of Gulielmus Hermannus Goudanus). Published by H. P. (*Cat. Printed Books, Brit. Mus.*)

⁴ During the preceding hundred years little enough had been done in the way of collections. In verse, Henrisone, whose fables had been reprinted in 1570, had had no successor. In prose, the old Caxton of 1484 still held the field, and continued to be reprinted to the end of the seventeenth century. 1658 is the date of the last edition noticed in the *Cat. of Printed Books, Brit. Mus.*, and of the last given by Plessow, p. li. Other editions seem to have appeared in 1676 and 1700 (*Term. Cat.*, Arber I, 261 and III, 178). *The Dialogues of Creatures*, 1520 (Hazlewood, reprint, 1816), *The moral Philosophy of Doni*, 1570, translated by Thos. North, and William Bullokar's *Aesops Fables in true Orthography*, 1585, were side developments, or of little significance.

⁵ "Henrisone's Fabeln," Diebler, *Anglia*, ix, 382-3, Prol. to Fab. vii. Especially "O maister Esope, poete lawriate," and Lydgate, Prol. st. 2, *Anglia* ix, p. 1, "this poyet laureat." Lydgate's chief source was probably the verse collection of Marie de France, or some derivative of it (Sauerstein and Plessow, lii-liii), while Henrisone's was the so-called *Anonymous Neveleti*, or Walter of England (Hervieux, 2nd edit. II, 316-351).

of easily recognized allusion. Sundry fable themes might be converted into verse, but Aesop *in toto* was thought of as essentially prose.

In 1564, however, there were printed in Rome the fables of Gabriello Faerno in Latin verse. These became popular in England as elsewhere. They were printed in England as early as 1598,⁶ and one at least was translated as early as 1586.⁷ It would seem that these may very well have facilitated the return to a versified Aesop, bringing, as they did, the fabulist before the public once more in somewhat the same guise as he had borne in the days of the popular *Anonymous Neveleti* (Henrisone's chief source), that is, as a poet.

Still more important probably were the iambics of Phaedrus, which had been restored to the world after centuries of oblivion by Pierre Pithou in 1596. Thirty-one of these fables in a prose translation had appeared in 1646.⁸ The tendency for a verse original to reproduce itself in verse when translated is evidenced in 1651, when five of the Phaedrian fables were published in English verse by Clement Barksdale.⁹ The growing popularity of Phaedrus, and hence of this influence, is still further indicated in the numerous quotations and allusions borrowed from him in the sermons of Jeremy Taylor of the same year and later.¹⁰ Although we can find no direct translation of Phaedrus before 1646, nor verse translation before 1651, we can assume much earlier an acquaintance with his verses through foreign editions like that of Rigault, 1599, which was used by Barksdale.

⁶ *Sta. Reg.*, Arber, III, 118, June 16, *Centum fabulae Ffaernij*.

⁷ Whitney's *Choice of Emblemes*, Green, p. 98, and *Shakespeare and the Emblem Writers*, Green, London, 1870, p. 311; The Fox and the Grapes, Faerno, *Centum Fabulae*, 1564, p. 19.

⁸ Aesop's Fables (45) with the Fables of Phaedrus (31). See above, note 3.

⁹ In *Nympha Libethris, or the Cotswold Muse*, New ed., London, 1816. A most fatuous performance.

¹⁰ *The Whole Works of the Rt. Rev. Jeremy Taylor*, ed. R. Heber, and C. P. Eden, London, 1859. Although Jeremy Taylor quotes but once from Avian (vol. VIII, 563; Av. 19), he draws upon the still fresh Phaedrus repeatedly. Eleven instances could be cited. In some cases we have an allusion; in others, direct quotation in the Latin. Usually there is no ascription. It would seem that Taylor expected his hearers or readers to be familiar with their Phaedrus.

On the basis, then, of this tendency of verse to be translated into verse, and of a verse Aesop to establish the idéa of writing fables generally in verse, we may, in the absence of other apparent causes, attribute the original impulse of this movement to the entrance upon the English consciousness of two popular collections of fables in Latin verse.

II. *Early influence of LaFontaine on English writers of fables*

We are apprised by Addison, writing in 1711 (*Spectator*, 183) that LaFontaine "by this way of writing [the fable] is come more into vogue than any other author of our times." It may be interesting to investigate this statement a little more minutely than has as yet been done, and to observe what evidence has survived in the shape of actual translation and imitation.¹

Sir Roger L'Estrange in his collection of 1692 seems to be the first to avow a dependence on LaFontaine for some of his themes.² His collection is in prose, however.

Close on the heels of L'Estrange's first edition comes a short series of fables in burlesque verse by John Dennis, included among the poems of his *Miscellany* of 1693.³ Great as is the difference in method and tone, these ten fables are translations from LaFontaine. The clearest evidence of this relationship occurs in the fable *Of the Dunghill Cock* (p. 114). By a variation of the story, the Cock sells his "huge carbuncle" (the pearl) to the next jeweller for two barley corns. The fable concludes:—

A learned Manuscript was once
By Testament bequeath'd t' a Dunce,
Strait trudg'd with it to Little-Britain.
Says he t' a Bookseller, pray look,
I've brought to sell thee here a Book.

¹ B. Uhlemayr in *Der Einfluss Lafontaines auf die englische Fabeldichtung des 18. Jahrhunderts*, Nürnberg, 1900, and Max Plessow in *Geschichte der Fabeldichtung in England bis zu John Gay*, Berlin, 1906, mention only L'Estrange, Mandeville, Ramsey, and Gay.

² *The Fables of Aesop and other Eminent Mythologists with Morals and Reflections*. Sir Roger L'Estrange, London, 1692.

³ *Miscellanies in Verse and Prose*. John Dennis, London, 1693, licensed Nov. 17, 1692, pp. 24, 33, 36, 70, 76, 92, 101, 111, 114, 117. Reprinted in 1697.

They say 'tis Learned, very Learned:
 But how a plague am I concerned?
 Friend, I am one of those damn'd Blockheads
 Who had rather see the cole in 's Pockets.

As this little additional narrative tacked to the fable occurs only in LaFontaine's version,⁴ and seems to be original there, we have here a clear index of source. In spite of an entire change in manner, all ten of Dennis's fables follow LaFontaine closely. Such rimes as "Phys-grim" (grim-visaged) with "Isgrim" (the Wolf), "Dungle" (dunghill), "Carbuncle," "kindred" with "in dread," and the other grotesque characteristics of the Hudibrastic verse then so popular, constitute Dennis's sole claim to attention. One sees that LaFontaine has suffered "translation" after the fashion of Nick Bottom.

The next series of fables derived from the French fabulist is that of Bernard Mandeville, published in 1704. These are in octosyllabic couplets. All but two of the thirty-nine are from LaFontaine, as the preface declares.⁵ This collection was reprinted in 1724.

Various scattering allusions or translations, one of which at least considerably antedates L'Estrange and Dennis, mark LaFontaine's influence throughout this period. LaFontaine was surely one of the writers who gave currency in England to a certain fable referred to by Tamworth Reresby (d. 1748)⁶ as "the Fable of the Sun and the Frogs, which appeared in the Beginning of the Dutch War, and was so much applauded in the World." This is the fable published in Latin by P. Commire in 1672, and translated in the same year by LaFontaine.⁷

Aesop in Politics, a very busy figure from 1698 on, was no better than his fellows, and naturally had little in common with the courteous and gentle LaFontaine. Among the scores of political fables published in little collections of ten or a dozen under such significant titles as *Aesop at Tunbridge*, and *Aesop at Whitehall*,

⁴ LaFon. I, 20, and Regnier I, p. 119, n. 4.

⁵ I have been unable to see this collection. Described with some fullness in Uhlemayr, 11 ff.

⁶ *A Miscellany of Ingenious Thoughts and Reflexions. In Verse and Prose*, p. 301.

⁷ Regnier's LaFontaine III, 346. Another early translation from LaFon. may be contained in D'Urfey's *The Malcontent*, 1684, p. 6, cant. v.

the influence of LaFontaine does not appear. In one collection, however, the so-called *Canterbury Tales*, 1701, there is one single translation, *The Foreigner* (LaF. x, 7).⁸

Dean Swift may have used *Le Vieillard et ses Enfants* (LaF. iv, 18) for the source of his political fable, *The Fagot*.⁹ In two other instances the Dean seems more clearly to be following LaFontaine. The mediaeval *Poenitentiarius*¹⁰ makes no mention of a plague, but assembles the animals for a *festiva dies*. LaFontaine in his *Les Animaux Malades de la Peste* (vii, 1), based upon this, motivates his story by the added detail of the pestilence. Swift in *A Fable of the Lion and other Beasts*¹¹ agrees with LaFontaine in this detail, and does not depart further from the French fable than the freedom characteristic of burlesque verse would explain.

The *motif* of the plague recurs in *The Beasts' Confession to the Priest, On Observing how most Men Mistake their own Talents*.¹² In the composition of this satire, however, Swift seems to be following in the main, the first part of LaFontaine's *La Besace* (i, 7), in which Jove invites each of the animals to declare how he should like to be improved, and finds that each prides himself on the features which excite in others most contempt. LaFontaine drew his initial idea from Avian 14, but Swift shows no suggestion of the Latin fable. Although Swift changes the animals, the general drift and manner of treatment seem to have been suggested by LaFontaine.

Dennis's fables had reflected little of the quality of their original. The fables of the later *Miscellanies*, however, aim at a greater literary distinction, and over them LaFontaine casts something of his grace. For a number of them he furnished themes, and others he affected in tone. In general, these fables are more extended than the French versions, the elaborations being in the nature of local allusions to fads and follies of the day. LaFontaine the Harlequin of Dennis becomes LaFontaine the Fop with Lady Winchelsea.

⁸ *Canterbury Tales rendered into Familiar Verse* by "Nobody," 1701, No. 2. No. 4 resembles LaFon. but ends with details found only in the Greek.

⁹ *Poems*, ed. W. E. Browning, London, 1910, II, 166 and LaFon. iv, 18. Swift wrote other fables, and for them he seems to have gone sometimes to the Latin. Cp. II, 181 with Ph. I, 19 and LaFon. II, 7.

¹⁰ Reinhardt Fuchs, J. Grimm, Berlin, 1834, p. 397.

¹¹ Vol. II, 244.

¹² Vol. I, 232.

Merely to indicate in passing *A Fable of a Council Held by the Rats*, published anonymously in *The Fifth Part of Tonson's Miscellany*, 1704 (p. 347), and based upon LaFontaine (II, 2), as the name "Rhodilard" applied to the cat attests, we come to Lady Winchelsea, who, attributing two fables to LaFontaine, in reality appropriated ten. It is easy in each instance to prove the indebtedness.¹³ Either the fable is not of the older tradition, or, as in the case of *The Brass-Pot, and the Stone Jugg*, the English fable is distinguished by details peculiar to the French, the two pots taking, not a sea voyage but a land journey. These fables are excellent of their kind, not attempting the more sympathetic delineations, but touching lightly the surface of things. In comparison with LaFontaine, Lady Winchelsea is diffuse in the manner suggested above.

Another of these *Miscellany* series in which French influence is strong is that included among Allan Ramsay's *Fables and Tales*,¹⁴ 1722-1730, practically synchronous with the two series by Gay. Of his twenty-four fables, four are from LaFontaine, and sixteen from LaMotte's *Fables Nouvelles*, a new French influence.

Ramsay knew how to translate closely the little humorous touches and preserve the humor, to effect a union of the human and the animal few writers achieve. Inferior in lightness to Lady Winchelsea, but with more body and distinctness of flavor, the second Scottish fabulist is of a more boisterous temper than his great predecessor, Henrisone. The grave, delicate humor in the more sympathetic figures of the latter, as in that of the little mouse that

might not wade, her shankes were too shorte,
She could not swim, she had no horse to ride

is, of course, not to be found; nor are the attempts at mock-heroic comparable with Henrisone's polished and dignified performance. This sort of humor with Ramsay is more external, more artificial, and less striking. It is more noisy and less delicate than LaFontaine's. On a middle plane Ramsay catches much of the spirit of

¹³ *Miscellany Poems on Several Occasions*. Written by a Lady, (Anne K. Finch), London, 1713. The fables from LaFon. are found on pages 1, 51, 55, 104, 110, 126, 212, 218, 223, 285. The fable on p. 283 is nearer Phaedrus (IV, 6) than LaFon. (IV, 6).

¹⁴ "Fables and Tales" in *The Poems of Allan Ramsay*, 2 vols., London, 1800, II, pp. 449-512. From LaFon. Nos. 7, 18, 19, 23; from *Fables Nouvelles*, Antoine Houdart de la Motte, Paris, 1719, Nos. 1, 2, 4-6, 9-16, 20-22.

the fable in its more vital aspects, and presents his stories in a style familiar and droll. Although he has taken twenty of his twenty-four fables from the French, and followed his originals more closely than any of his predecessors, his manner is quite distinct: he has them well "busked in a Plaid."

Two other writers of Miscellanies make use each of one fable derived from LaFontaine: William Somerville, although chiefly dependent on Phaedrus, derives *The Fortune Hunter*, 1727, from LaFontaine (vii, 12; no other source known); and James Ralph, *The Heron*.¹⁵

It is in the Poetical Miscellany with its turning away from the older Latin sources to the French, or to the composition of original fables that we see best the literary environment out of which Gay's fables arose.¹⁶ They are original. The contemporary influence most likely to be traced would be, of course, that of LaFontaine and LaMotte, both conspicuously represented, as we have seen, in Gay's northern contemporary, Allan Ramsay. There seems no reason, however, to attribute either Gay's effort at originality, or his method of writing, as has been done, to the suggestion of LaMotte.¹⁷

¹⁵ *Occasional Poems*, Wm. Somerville, London; and *Miscellaneous Poems*, 1729, p. 197, LaFon. vii, 4.

¹⁶ First Series of fifty fables, 1726; Second Series of sixteen, 1738. *Gay's Chair*, Boston, 1820, p. 40.

¹⁷ On this matter of *originality*, and Gay's *method* of choosing a moral first and writing the fable afterwards, see Gay's letter to Swift of 1732, and one from Swift to Gay of the same year (Pope's *Works*, Croker and Elwin, vii, 268-269 and 279). As to the *method*, Dennis already in 1716 (*Original Letters*, London, 1721, Dec. 5, 1716), speaking of the fable in the larger as well as in the stricter sense, had asked: "Can any one believe that Aesop first told a Story of a Cock and Bull, and afterwards made the Moral to it? Or is it reasonable to believe that he made the Moral first, and afterwards to prove it, contriv'd his Fable?" The method in which Gay and LaMotte agree is the almost inevitable one in a sophisticated age. One must go back to the days when the fable was just emerging from the animistic beast tale to find it regularly produced anew in any other manner. For *originality*, there are a number of considerations which help to explain Gay's resolution to invent. LaMotte's example may have been contributory. A tendency towards originality had been showing itself for a number of years in assertions in prefaces to various collections that several of the fables following were the author's own. (See *Truth in Fiction*, Edmund Arwaker, 1798.) The cutting loose more and more from the older Latin tradition, the adoption of French, modern models, the tremendous vogue the fable had enjoyed, which had hackneyed the old themes and rendered new

Neither can any very definite influence of LaFontaine be pointed out. It is not necessary to adduce Gay's two visits to Paris in 1717 and 1719 to establish a presumption that Gay knew LaFontaine. There had been an edition of the French fables published in London in 1708; but more than that, the *Miscellanies* give us concrete evidence that LaFontaine was known and frequently translated by the very sort of people among whom Gay moved, and those most nearly akin to him in taste and habits. In fact, we have seen that Swift, Gay's intimate friend and correspondent on the subject of the fables, seems to have translated from LaFontaine himself.

If, on the one hand, we can be reasonably sure that Gay knew LaFontaine, on the other, it is not easy to declare confidently that he took from him this *motif*, or that detail.¹⁸ A few fables show some general similarity to those in the French collection. How much of this is due to conscious imitation, how much to similarities in the environments of the two poets, or the exigencies of the story, I am unwilling to attempt to say. Gay did not use LaFontaine as a source in any sense of the word. The influence of LaFontaine was in the air, and doubtless contributed to make the fables what they are. The most striking similarity is due to the temperaments and conditions of the two men. Gay shows more of that poise and that restraint which mark LaFontaine than do his immediate predecessors. He altogether avoids the turgidity of Ogilby, and the smartness of Vanbrugh. The violence and coarseness of the political fable are impossible to him. On the other hand, with Gay as with the other writers of his time and country, the fable is better in its applications to men, and in those parts con-

metrical versions superfluous, all this must have been of determining influence. Finally, Gay's own nature was antipathetic to versifying simply from a source. Neither the translator like Ogilby, nor the schoolmaster like Hoole, but a very indolent literary man and a poet, his whole inclination would be away from the pedantries of translation, his self-esteem, towards creation. These points deserve discussion because LaMotte's example has been overemphasized. (Plessow, ciii ff.)

¹⁸ Dr. Plessow presses the matter of Gay's dependence upon LaFon. very hard. The most plausible parallel is between Gay I, 2 and LaFon. III, 15. There is only a general similarity. Gay introduces into his fable a great absurdity: a flatterer reduced by Jove to the form of a chameleon to debar him from the society he abused, is invited by a spaniel to return, an obvious impossibility. For other parallels, some quite invisible, see Plessow xciii ff.

cerned with human folly, than in any vital treatment of the animal actors. We should not expect Gay to take up cudgels for his humble friends in the manner of LaFontaine in his *Epistle to Madame de la Sablière* at the end of the ninth book. Whatever Gay derived from LaFontaine, and Gay comes the nearest to him of the English fabulists, he falls short at least of this last delicacy, grace, and sympathetic humor which combine to make that which we call in LaFontaine *naïveté*.

None of the English translators really reproduced LaFontaine. They followed his stories more or less closely, but recast them according to the prevailing fashion. LaFontaine's influence, however, extended further than to the suggestion of a few themes. Although the fable had already come to be regarded again as a poetical form before LaFontaine, it had remained largely in the hands of scholars, clergymen, and politicians. In the opening years of the eighteenth century, however, we find that it has made a place for itself among the polite, the graceful, and the urbane. It has become a social toy, a feature of the *Poetical Miscellany*. Unquestionably, LaFontaine's popularity tended to effect this change. His poetical excellence put the fable in a new light, and made it worth the attention of the *beau monde*. And this change in attitude may well be considered the most significant result of that influence Addison's assertion led one to expect.

III. *Phaedrus versus LaFontaine in England before John Gay*

Two other causes besides the influence of LaFontaine may be suggested to explain the popularity of the fable among the members of the more polite society in England in the early eighteenth century. In the first place, the vogue of the *Miscellany* as a form of publication, resulting from Dryden's connection with the Tonson series, created a demand for verse of all sorts. If we compare the *Miscellanies* of this period, however, with the *Garlands*, *Galaxies*, and *Bookes of Songes* of the sixteenth century, we shall find that in the earlier *Miscellanies*, a few fable songs, and a considerable number of allusions occur, but nothing comparable to the extensive series of fables which distinguish the latter. A new impetus has clearly been given to the type in the interim.

The second possible explanation is the influence of Phaedrus, who makes an appeal to those who could only scorn the common

prose Aesop. Certainly Phaedrus did exert a parallel influence with that of LaFontaine. I have noticed above the first appearances of Phaedrus in English, first in prose in 1646, and then in verse (five fables) in 1651. The first Latin edition of Phaedrus printed in England was that of 1668. This was repeatedly reprinted.

Other instances in which Phaedrus was made use of by English writers during this period are: Oldham (d. 1683), *A Satire addressed to a Friend about to leave the University*, Dog and Wolf, Ph. VII, 3, rather than LaF., I, 5; 1689, Philip Ayres avows a use of Phaedrus for his verse collection, as does L'Estrange, 1692, for his prose; 1705, *Phaedrus Fables Translated into proper English, for the use of Young Scholars, according to Hoogstraten's Edition* (Term Cat.); 1710, Mathew Prior, *Examiner*, No. 6, Sept. 7, Ph. I, 7; 1711, *Aesop Naturaliz'd in a Collection of Fables and Stories*, 3rd edition, Fab. 28 and Ph. II, 4; 1722, Samuel Croxall (prose) follows Phaedrus in the first 37, except in putting *The Cock and the Pearl* first, as does the *Romulus*. The later fables include a scattering from Phaedrus. 1724, Matthew Concanen in *Miscellany Poems* alludes to Ph. III, 5,—“’Tis application only makes the Ass.” William Somerville, 1727, *Occasional Poems*, pp. 159 ff., takes his motto (Ph. IV, pt. I, 2, line 2) and several fables (one avowedly) from Phaedrus:—IV, pt. 2, 4; IV, pt. I, 24; I, 10, and *The Bald Batchelor, being a Paraphrase upon the Second Fable in the Second Book of Phaedrus* (about 225 lines). Other instances are: 1727, *A Tale and Two Fables in Verse* etc., by the “author of the Totness-Address Versify’d,” London, p. 15, *Reasonable Fear: or the Frogs and the Fighting Bulls. A Fable from Phaedrus*, I, 30; 1731, J. Husbards, *A Miscellany of Poems by Several Hands* including *A Translation of the Third Fable of the Eighth Book of Phaedrus* (really III, 8); scattered allusions through the *Tatler* and *Spectator*, and quotations at the heads of several of the *Essays*. (See also *The Free-Thinker*, No. 76; *The Freeholder*, Nos. 9, 14, and other periodicals.)

Phaedrus, then, exercised a wide influence, and occurs beside LaFontaine in the Miscellanies, but the fable did not assume the new tone in the early days of the Phaedrian influence, but only after LaFontaine had begun to make himself felt.

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A summary of the various interpretations of *Beowulf* 489-490, given by Professor W. J. Sedgefield (*Beowulf*, 2nd ed., Manchester, 1913), will serve to introduce the following discussion:

489. *on sælum teo sigehreð secgum*, 'joyfully award victory to warriors,' a flattering phrase. The ms. reading *onsæl meoto* used to be translated 'unbind thy thoughts,' *meoto* being regarded as the plur. of *met*. But *met* occurs nowhere else, and moreover, as Holthausen points out, the imperat. *onsæl* could not in this position take the chief stress. Holthausen also reads *on sælum*, following Kemble, and suggests *weota*, imperat. of *weotian* = *witian*, meaning 'determine,' 'appoint.' Klaeber reads *on sæl meota sigehreð secga*, 'joyfully think of victory of warriors.' Equally plausible would be *on sæl nota*, 'at the right time (or, 'to good purpose') make use of victory for warriors.'

Several clauses from the latest summary of this matter, in the Wyatt-Chambers edition of the poem (1914), will make the statement of the problem sufficiently complete for the present purpose. After the observation that the ms. reading has in the past been generally defended by taking *onsæl* as imperative, and *meoto* as "some word, not elsewhere recorded, meaning either 'measure,' 'thought,' or 'speech': so *onsæl meoto* = 'relax the ties of etiquette,' or 'unknit thy thoughts,'" the comment follows:

"The difficulty is that a verb, unless emphatic, should not take the alliteration. Those who retain the ms. reading generally take *sigehreð* as an adj. = *sige-hreðig*, 'victory famed' (. . . but it is surely a noun), or make *sigehreðsecgum* one word. [Klaeber's rendering is preferred, 'in joyful time think upon victory of men.'] The verb **metian* is not elsewhere recorded, but may be inferred from the Goth. *mitōn*, 'consider.'"

The later scholars thus find two principal hindrances to the acceptance of the ms. reading, the strong (alliterative) stress of an imperative (*onsæl*), and the form and meaning of *meoto*. A third difficulty is seen by some in the adjective function of *sige-hreð*. These points shall be considered in the order indicated.

Professor Holthausen's emphatic denial of the possibility of construing *onsæl* as an imperative has carried conviction to some critics. His confident declaration is this: "Die beliebte übersetzung . . . 'und entseile die gedanken' ist schon deshalb unmög-

lich, weil sie gegen die grundregeln der metrik verstösst! Im zweiten halbvers kann bekanntlich das verbum nur dann, vor dem nomen allitterieren, wenn eine schilderung vorliegt" (*Z. f. d. Phil.* xxxvii, 114). Persuaded by this, Professor Klaeber (*J. of E. and G. Phil.* vi, 192) writes, "The interpretation of this veritable *cruz* has been materially advanced by Holthausen, who . . . properly restored the nounal character of (*on*)*sæl* and thus effectively disposed of several fanciful solutions." However, a true scholar like Professor Klaeber is not easily swung out of his orbit, and a foot-note is added by him to show that the imperative does, in fact, take the alliterative stress in the second half-line of 2163 and 2664, but he is too cautious when he points out as a condition the detail "followed by *eall(es)*."

As a mode of procedure, one may first make an inductive examination of the rhythmic value of the imperative in *Beowulf*. The classification of the occurrences will not elicit a controversy as to the application of the rules of scansion; ambiguity of rhythmic form will be duly pointed out.

Imperatives under the first metrical stress in the first half-line

<i>brūc</i> þisses bæges	1217a	<i>Bio</i> nū on ofeste	2748a
<i>cen</i> þec mid cræfte	1220a	<i>Gemyne</i> mærdō	660a
<i>waca</i> wið wrāðum	661a	<i>site</i> nū tō symle	489a
<i>Onfōh</i> þissum fulle	1170a	<i>gesaga</i> him ēac wordum	388a
<i>heald</i> þū nū hrūse	2248a	<i>Bebeorh</i> þē þone bealo-nið	1759a
<i>geþenc</i> nū, sē mæra	1475a	<i>Aris</i> , rīces weard!	1391a
<i>Gā</i> nū to setle	1783a	<i>Ne sorga</i> , snotor guma!	1385a
<i>Hafa</i> nū and <i>geheald</i>	659a	<i>Ne frīn</i> þū æfter sǣlum!	1323a
<i>Bēo</i> þū on ofeste	386a	<i>Hātað</i> heaðo-mære	2803a

The metrical stress may be questioned at most only in the four instances at the end of this list. Of these the first two are, however, made secure by the accentual coördination of imperative and vocative; the third, by the enclitic character of *Ne*; but the last may perhaps *not* be secured by the double alliteration, the presumption being in favor of associating this instance with the undisputed occurrences of the imperative in the initial thesis of the first half-line, which are the following:

<i>Onsend</i> Higelāce	452a	<i>lātað</i> hilde-bord	397a
<i>Wæs</i> þū Hrōðgār hāl	407a	<i>Wes</i> þū mund-bora	1481a
<i>Bēo</i> wið Gēatas glæd	1174a		

The imperatives occurring in the first thesis of the second half-line are appropriately added here:

<i>hāt</i> [þæt] in gāe (edd., gangan)	<i>heald</i> forð tela	949b
386b	<i>Gewītað</i> forð beran	291b
<i>Bēo</i> þū suna mīnum	<i>Wes</i> þū ūs lārena gōd!	269b
1227b		

Reverting to the first half-line, there remain two instances of the occurrence of an imperative under the second metrical stress:

<i>gum-cyste ongit</i>	1724a	<i>Ond</i> þū Unferð lāt	1489a
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It remains now to bring together the stressed imperatives of the second half-line. These shall be exhibited in two lists.

Imperatives under the first metrical stress of the second half-line

<i>brūc</i> þenden þū mōte	1178b	<i>Dōð</i> swā ic bidde	1232b
<i>Wes</i> , þenden þū lifige	1225b	<i>fremmað</i> gē nū	2801b
<i>Brūc</i> ealles well	2163b	þū þē lār be þon	1723b
<i>lāst</i> eall tela	2664b	<i>ond onswel</i> m	489b
<i>ond geþeoh</i> tela	1219b		

Imperatives under the second metrical stress of the second half-line

<i>Higelāce onsend!</i>	1484b	<i>symbol-wynne drēoh</i>	1783b
<i>Nō</i> þū him wearne <i>getēoh</i>	366b	<i>ond þyssum enyhtum wes</i>	1220b
<i>ond þisses hrægles nēot</i>	1218b	þū on sǣlum <i>wes</i>	1171b
<i>mægen-ellen cȳð</i>	660b	<i>ond tō Gēatum spræc</i>	1172b
<i>ond þē þæt sēlre gecēos</i>	1760b	<i>ond þinum mægum lāf</i>	1179b
<i>Ofer-hȳda ne gȳm</i>	1761b		

These lists from *Beowulf* are here offered to serve a wider purpose than that of the specific argument; from them may be inferred the complete convention of the rhythmic use of imperatives in Anglo-Saxon. However, in the circumstances in which an imperative comes to be used there is often occasion for sustaining the form in a succession of lines (or only in both halves of one line) by accretion or iteration. This stylistic feature, not shown in the lists, is important enough to be noticed here. It is found, for example, in *Beowulf* 659-661; 1170-1172; 1217-1220; and *Finnsburg* 10-12, which is noticeable, moreover, for two instances of an imperative (lines 10 and 12) in the first half-line with exclusive alliteration:

Ac *onwacnigeað* nū wīgend mine,
habbað ēowre handa *hiegeað* on ellen,
winnað on orde, *wesað* on mōde!

For another detail one may notice two closely related passages of *Genesis* (1512-1514; 1532-1535), which preclude the attribution of rhythmic variation to any other cause than the exigency of the poet's art; here the imperative *fyllað* has two positions in the line (cf. also 196):

Tȳmað nū and *tiedrað*, tires *brūcað*
mid *gefēan* fryðo! *fyllað* eorðan,
eall *geiceað*!

Wēaxað and *wridað*, wilna *brūcað*,
āra on eorðan! æðelum *fyllað*
ēowre fromcynne foldan *scēatas*,
tēamum and tūdre!

It is not necessary to enlarge on the plain inferences to be drawn from the foregoing citations. The outstanding features of the rhythmic use of the imperative are manifestly these: (1) the imperative occurs most frequently at the beginning of the line, and oftenest under the stress; (2) next in frequency of occurrence are the stressed imperatives in the second half-line, distributed about equally under the first and the second stresses; (3) some of the less significant imperatives are subordinated to the first thesis in either half-line (the occurrences are not numerous, for these may also be placed under the last stress of the second half-line, and exceptionally under that of the first half-line).

Turning now from the results of an inductive examination of the rhythmic use of the imperative in Anglo-Saxon verse (as shown in *Beowulf*), it will be found that a deductive procedure leads to a confirmation and, what is more, to an adequate explanation of the same results.

Germanic alliterative verse (chiefly Anglo-Saxon and Old Saxon) is held to give the clearest exhibit of certain principles of sentence-accent. These principles are therefore available as a postulate for verification in a selected text. Deductively, then, it would be expected to find the finite form of the verb unstressed or lightly stressed in the principal clause, and the stronger stress to fall as regularly on the finite verb of the subordinate clause. The verb in the principal clause may, on occasions, be emphatic in sense and

alliterate, this special emphasis being most commonly secured by placing the verb at the beginning of the sentence. Now, what is thus exceptional in the case of the finite verb must be held to be exclusive of the imperative, which converts the exception into a rule, for the imperative is regularly placed at the beginning of the sentence and demands the sentence-accent.¹

There is, of course, in Germanic verse a margin of variation, which does not, however, obscure the general observance of the rules of sentence-accent.² With reference now to the imperatives in the lists given above, it is seen that in *Beowulf* the poet has managed these forms with as close adherence to the accentual law of this special category as could be expected, considering the exigencies of his difficult art-form. This reference to the lists given above unites the two methods of inquiry here pursued in the common result of an incontrovertibly strong presumption in favor of retaining *onsæl* (line 489) as an imperative, in agreement with the earlier critics, who rightly attributed the difficulty of the clause to the form of the object of the verb. Undoubtedly, if *meoto* were a known substantive, the question of the fitness of the stressed imperative would never have been raised. At all events, with this conviction in mind, the preceding digression on the imperative has been offered principally for the wider purpose of directing

¹ "Das Verbum war vollbetont, wenn es an der Spitze des Satzes stand. Dies wird wahrscheinlich gemacht durch Keltisch und Germanisch. . . . Vor allem stand das Verbum im Imperativ an der Spitze, ganz naturgemäss" (Hermann Hirt, *Der Indogermanische Akzent*, Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1895, p. 309). See Hirt's complete chapter on the subject, in which it is shown that the Germanic alliterative verse conserves this principle of sentence-accent "als altes Erbgut." It is important to observe the confirmatory fact that the imperative and the vocative are associated in this doctrine of sentence-position and accentual weight, and that proper names are *ipso facto* vocatives, as I have elsewhere shown for Anglo-Saxon verse (*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, XIV, 347-368).

² "Bei diesen Abstufungen des natürlichen accents handelt es sich selbstverständlich um *relative verhältnisse*, da der Satzaccent nicht absolut fest ist, sondern durch einfluss des rhythmischen schemas modifiziert werden kann" (E. Sievers, *Altgermanische Metrik*, Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1893, p. 26. The entire division, "Grundlagen der altgerm. metrik," pp. 18-49, is of first-class importance in connection with this discussion, altho Sievers does not in § 24 separate for special treatment the imperatives from the other finite forms of the verb).

attention to principles of accent that are not always well understood by students of the old poetry. Otherwise the discussion would have been confined within the limits of a proposed explanation of the MS. reading *meoto*.

Assuming the form *meoto* to constitute the "veritable *crux*," it may be subjected to scrutiny with reference to a probable paleographic error. From this point of view, one is not unprepared for an erroneous interchange of *c* and *t*, and this similarity in the form of the letters admits as a third member the vowel *o*, as seen in the *Beowulf* MS. at line 3146 (*swicðole*, for *swioðole*). It was possible for the scribe, therefore, to write *meoto* for *mecto* or for *metto* (not to devise other possible combinations of the letters). Now *mêtto*, thus obtained, is just the word to meet the sense read into the clause by the earlier critics. In the simple form it is not reported to occur elsewhere (tho it may yet be found), but it is frequent enough in the compound *ofer-mêtto*. The meaning it must have in the simple form is to be inferred from its character as an abstract noun based on *mōd*. The stem of the abstract noun is in *-īpa*, and the development is regular from **mōdīpa* to *mêtto* (see Sievers, *Beiträge* I, 501 and V, 134 note 1). Not to argue the question of the meaning of *mêtto*, which is sufficiently given in the character of the form, one may observe, as close synonyms of the abstract *mêtto*, such words as *mōd-gehygd* and *mōd-geþanc*, and the equivalence of *ofer-hygd* and *ofer-mêtto*, which, taken together, show that *mêtto* is synonymous with *gehygd* and *geþanc*.

As to the grammatical function of *sige-hrēð*, the remaining point to be considered here, there is no need to hesitate in construing the word as an adjective. 'Possessive compounds' like *glæd-mōd*, *glēaw-mōd*, *ofer-mōd*, and *yrre-mōd* are equivalent to forms, with which these are used interchangeably, in *-mōdig*. So too *sige-hrēð* as an adjective is a proper variant of *sige-hrēðig*.

Summing up the results thus obtained, the lines in question are a well-constructed expression of the royal injunction: 'Take thy place at the table, and do thou, victory-famous one, disclose to these men what thou hast in mind, so far as thy wisdom may urge.' A noticeable stylistic feature of these lines is a symmetry in the distribution of the parts of the injunction that represents the poet's best manner. It is also conventionally compact. In a passage by another hand (Grein-Wülker, II, p. 123, ll. 95-97) this compactness

is somewhat less rigidly observed, but the poet has an injunction to express that is sufficiently similar to that of the lines in *Beowulf*, and he does this in so similar a fashion as to supply confirmation of the results of this discussion:

Nū ic þē hāte, hǣleð mīn sē lēofa,
 þæt ðū þās gesyhðe secge mannum:
 onwreoh wordum þæt hit is wuldres bēam

In comparing passages so disconnected, it is not permitted to be dogmatic; but a code of conventionalities is observed in all Anglo-Saxon verse with a degree of uniformity that favors such a comparison, if it be kept within pliant limits. It is, therefore, not altogether inappropriate to refer to the second passage for confirmation of the assumed construction both of *sige-hrēð* and of *secgum*; and *onwreoh* is equally confirmative of *onsāġl*. A further confirmation of *onsāġl mēlto* lies in its conformity to the conventional formula, in Anglo-Saxon verse, for expressing the *dis-closing* of one's mind. The formula, which arrested the attention of Grimm (*Andreas und Elene*, 1840, p. xxxix), is typically represented by *word-hord onlūcan*, and is sustained by verbs synonymous with *on-lūcan*: *onbindan*, *onspannan*, *onwreōn*, with which *onsāġlan* is also synonymous.

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THE TOWNELEY PLAY OF THE DOCTORS AND THE SPECULUM CHRISTIANI

Dr. George C. Taylor in his paper, "The Relation of the English Corpus Christi Play to the Middle English Religious Lyric,"¹ has pointed out that a passage in the Towneley *Play of the Doctors* (xviii, 141-180) is based directly upon a metrical version of the Ten Commandments which was printed in *Reliquiae Antiquae* (i, 49-50) from Jesus Coll. Camb. ms. Q. G. 3. In view of the direct bearing of this discovery upon the much discussed problem of the relations of the cycles, it becomes a matter of some interest to assemble such evidence as is available concerning the poem in question.

¹ *Modern Philol.*, v, 1-38.

This version of the Commandments, together with a paraphrase of the Seven Deadly Sins (likewise in quatrains), and other pieces of religious verse occur in a treatise usually known as the *Speculum Christiani*, which circulated widely in the fifteenth century.² Some idea of its popularity may be gained from the fact that no less than thirty-three manuscripts survive. Of these the earliest appears to be MS. Bodley 89, which in the judgment of the authorities at the Bodleian was written about the year 1400. I print below the text of the *Ten Commandments* according to Bodley 89, supplying within brackets from another manuscript of the same type (Bodl. MS. Eng. th. e. 16) written in the first half of the fifteenth century, two stanzas which are lacking in Bodley 89, owing to the loss of a leaf.

MS. Bodley 89, fol. 3a:

fol. 3^a. In heuene schall dwell al cristen mene
pat knowe and kepe goddis byddynges tene

fol. 3^b. Thou shalte loue god wyth herte entiere
4 Wyth all þi sowle and alle þi mygthe
Other god in no manere
Thou shalte not haf be day ne nygthe

fol. 4^a. Goddes name in vanitee
8 þou shalte not take for wele nor woo
Nor dysmembre hym that on rode tree
ffor þe was made both blak and bloo

fol. 4^b. Thy holy daies kepe wele also
12 ffro wordly werkys þou take þi reste
All þi householde þe same shall doo
Both wyff and childe *seruaunte* and beste

Thy fader and moder þou shalte honoure
16 Nogth oonly wyth reuerence

² The authorship of the *Speculum Christiani* is ascribed by Tanner to John Watton, on the authority of the colophon in MS. C. C. C. Oxf. 155: "Explicit speculum Christiani quod dominus Iohannes Watton." But this ascription cannot safely be accepted until the testimony of the other manuscripts has been collected. Harley 206 reads: "Liber compilatus per Wilhelmum de Wattone." Pembroke Coll. Camb. 285: "Explicit speculum christiani Garton." St. John's Coll. Camb. G. 8: "Explicit tractatus qui dicitur Speculum christiani per Phillippum de Spencer compilatum." Harley 6580, according to the Catalogue, assigns the *Speculum* to Roger Byrde. The majority of the MSS., including some of the earliest, make no mention of the author's name.

In þeir nede þou tham socoure
And kepe aye goddis obediens

- fol. 5^a. Off mane kynde þou shalte nogth slee
20 Ne harme wyth worde ner wyll ner dede
Ner suffre none lorne ner loste to be
If þou may wele Hym helpe at nede
- fol. 6^a. Thy wyff in tyme þou maiste wele take
24 But none oþer womane lawfully
Lecherye and synfull luste flye and forsake
And drede aye god wher so þou be
- fol. 6^b. Be þou no thefe nor thefes fere
28 Ne no thyng wynne thurgh trecherye
Okir ne symonye come þou none nere
But conscience clere kepe aye trewly

[Ms. Eng. th. e. 16]

- fol 12^a. [Thou schalt in word be trewe also
32 And witnes fals þu schalt non bere
Loke þu not lye for freend nor fo
Lest þu thi soule ful gretly dere
- fol. 12^b. Thi neghbores wyf þu not desyre
36 Nor womman non thurgh synne coueyte
But as holy kirke wolde it were
Right so thi purpos loke þu sette]
- fol. 7^a. Howse ne lande ner other thyng
40 þou schalte not covete wrongefully
But kepe wele goddis byddyng
And cristen fayth leue stedfastly.

A comparison of this text with that in the Jesus Coll. ms. discloses several differences. The readings of the Jesus Coll. ms. are: v. 12, 'Fra bodely werk'; v. 17, 'Bot in thaire nede'; v. 18, 'gode obedience'; v. 32, 'fals wytne'; v. 42, 'trow stedfastly.' In each instance, it will be observed, the Towneley play agrees with the reading of the later manuscript, altho, in some cases at least, Bodley '89 clearly preserves the original reading.

This fact seems to offer some slight evidence as to the date of the quatrain portions of the Towneley plays. The composition of the *Speculum Christiani* can hardly be assigned to a period earlier than the last decade of the fourteenth century; and some time must be allowed for the introduction and circulation of the altered read-

ings which appear in manuscripts of the later type. It is probable, therefore, that the passage based on the *Speculum Christiani* was not introduced into the text of the Towneley plays until well on toward the middle of the fifteenth century.

It remains to speak briefly of the corresponding passage in the *Coventry Weavers' Play* (977-1000). Here one finds a paraphrase of the Commandments which differs widely from both Towneley and York. Dr. Hardin Craig,³ observing in 977-984 a somewhat closer resemblance to the phrases in Towneley (143-152), inclined to the opinion that the Coventry play derived from Towneley. Coventry and Towneley, however, show no noteworthy agreement beyond the use of the rimes, *reste:best* and *honowre:succure*. Moreover, a few lines further on (989-992) we come upon phrases which are quite as directly based upon York (181-186).⁴ This dependence upon York in the seventh and eighth commandments is certainly as significant as the similarity to Towneley in the third and fourth commandments. For if the Coventry playwright worked on the basis of Towneley, he would have found the York version of the Commandments already displaced by the passage borrowed from the *Speculum Christiani*.

Finally, it may be pointed out that the direct use of the *Speculum Christiani* in the Towneley stanzas on the Commandments raises a serious objection to the conclusion reached by Dr. Craig, 'that W Co and T preserve here parts of the same original' (p. xxxi). If the relation between Coventry and Towneley were as close as Dr. Craig supposes, one would expect to find in the Coventry text more definite and extended reminiscences of the *Speculum Christiani* than those that appear in the lines on the third and fourth commandments.

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³ *E. E. T. S.*, Ext. Ser. 87, p. xxxiv.

⁴ Coventry also shows slight resemblances to York rather than Towneley in the following lines: 967 (cf. Y. 147); 986 (cf. Y. 176); 997 (cf. Y. 157).

REVIEWS

La Riforma Ortografica dell' Inglese, del Francese e dell' Italiano, di Giacomo De Gregorio. Palermo, Tip. Boccone del Povero, 1915. Estr. d. Atti d. R. Accademia di Scienze, Lettere e Belle Arti di Palermo, S. 3^a, vol. x.

In this essay the Marquis De Gregorio, the well-known editor of *Studi Glottologici Italiani*, briefly describes the rise of modern movements for the simplification of spelling in English, French, and Italian; criticizes the reforms that have been suggested, and the objections raised against them; and makes some new proposals regarding Italian orthography.

De Gregorio's attitude toward the whole question may be described as scientific and international. The scientist appears in the bold assertion that the object of spelling reform is phonetic accuracy: "to leave no opportunity for errors or uncertainties in pronunciation," an expression the force of which is not lessened by the admission that practical utility demands a more simple and more accurate representation of sounds. It is true that, far from scorning the claims of material advantage, he dwells repeatedly on the need for simplification and regularity for the sake of children and foreigners, but for the very purpose of gaining this material advantage as largely as possible he holds that reforms in the three languages (there is only a passing reference to spelling reform in German) would do well to proceed uniformly as far as possible, and that their common ground is scientific phonetic writing, which is also the only durable ground. This idea is apparent in many of his criticisms of the reforms proposed, and it is with this intention that he makes the fundamental postulate that each separate sound must be represented by one separate sign.

After thus expressing the idea that seems to inform the whole of this essay, it should be said that the author often shows a tenderness for the written word such as is usually ascribed to the man of letters rather than to the word-monger. Again and again he deprecates the defacing ("svisare") of words except for excellent reasons, and this even after pointing out that spelling reform is no new thing, that alterations in the written signs have occurred continually in the past, owing to sound-change outstripping the more

conservative writing, and after saying that experimental phonetics has taught us to attach more importance to sound and less to writing. On the other hand his linguistic sense recoils from wanton destruction of signs that indicate the etymology of a word correctly, and would save such signs wherever it is possible without sacrificing scientific principles. Such a catholic view as this is beyond praise: it is that of Philology itself.

In the brief sketch of the rise of spelling reform in America, Theodore Roosevelt figures imposingly enough to satisfy his most fervent admirers. He is presented as the principal champion of the movement, although it is added that when the Simplified Spelling Board was formed, Professors Calvin Thomas, Brander Mathews, and Thomas Lounsbury, all, apparently, of Yale University, made modifications and additions to the proposal of Roosevelt. The author is acquainted with the first two lists of simplified spellings, but not, it seems, with the others, although he mentions the letter of Secretary Howard to the Members of the Modern Language Association, of March, 1915, and the answers to it.¹

De Gregorio comments favorably on the recommendations of these two lists, excepting that which advises, in the case of "words with the verb-suffix of Greek origin, spelled *-ise* or *-ize*," the adoption of *-ize*. This, he says, is useless and contrary to the standard of agreement between orthography and phonetics. Although in English *z* has the same sound as *s* in the words in question, *z* in the scientific alphabet and in other languages represents a composite sound different from *s*. It is a mistake to refer to the Greek origin, since these words came from French verbs in *-iser*, and not directly from Greek. An obvious explanation in reply would be that the Board were minded to save *s* for the unvoiced sibilant, and to use *z* for the voiced. They were not thinking of the advantage of agreement with spelling in other languages, and were not aiming at phonetic accuracy, but were attempting to promote regularity in English.

The spelling with *-or* of nouns formerly ending in *-our*—already established in America—meets with the approval of the author, all the more because the original Latin ending was *-or*. One wonders

¹ The information on which De Gregorio comments is furnished by an article of Prof. Juan M. Dihigo of the University of Havana, an article that is unknown to the reviewer.

why the Latin origin of these words should be considered, if the Greek origin of verbs in *-ize* ought not to be mentioned. These also came through French, and De Gregorio adds: "Probably the *u* of *ou* in use in England is only a remainder of the *eu* of the French *ardeur, couleur, etc.*" This hypothesis, however, is difficult to entertain, considering how rare *eu* is in Anglo-Norman, and how frequent is *u* and, to a less extent, *ou*.

The author only modifies his general approval of the suggestions of the Board by remarking that the number of words altered is small compared with the number that would be reformed by a general application of the principles illustrated—it must be remembered that he has seen only the first two lists—and that there are more important reforms to be considered, which would cause the writing of English to approach something like an international standard, toward which all national writing ought to tend.

De Gregorio's hostility to the suggestions of the reformers of French spelling is surprising, since many of his objections are such as would apply to the new English spellings. His chief criticisms are that the reform is not based on any consistent principle; that the signs proposed are often phonetically inaccurate, and sometimes sacrifice etymological indications without achieving accuracy; that some are of a kind that would hinder rather than help foreign students of the language; that some much needed and far-reaching reforms are not proposed because of difficulties peculiar to French.

For example:—To use the sign *gn* for the sound *ñ*, and *ch* for *š* is to depart from the essential principle that each sound be represented by a single sign. To write *qi* for *qui*, *qalifie* for *qualifie*, and at the same time to write *arkéologues* and *considérer*, is to use three signs for the same sound, and *q* is superfluous as a phonetic sign. The *c* which is suggested instead of *s* in *maladrèce*, and for *t* in *atancion*, represents other sounds in phonetic science, in other languages and in French itself, and if the unvoiced sibilant *s* is to be represented by *c*, why keep *s* in *aussi*, and why use *ç* in *réçamant*? The writing *cc* for *ct* in *traduccion* etc. is inferior to the old writing which at least represented two sounds by two signs: here the reformers, to be consistent, should have written *traduqcion*, but the more phonetic *traduksion* would have been far preferable. To write *j* for *g* in *jenre* etc. is to use a sign that is not in general use, and which in phonetic science represents a different sound: it would

have been better to keep the *g* which is at least etymological. *An* for *en*, and *en* for *in* represent an approach to phonetic accuracy, but are no help to those who are learning French and also know Latin or one of the other Romance languages: the old writings had the advantage of preserving the Latin vowel. The reformers still write *examen*, *sinple*, *renseignement* and *impossible*, which is inconsistent. *S* for final *x* in *ceus* etc. is to substitute one useless sign for another, and considering the daring of the reformers, it is strange that they should be unwilling to eliminate mute vowels, or to represent *ou* by its phonetic equivalent *u*.

The French peculiarity of pronouncing so many of the final consonants before a vowel, but not before another consonant, creates an almost insurmountable difficulty: either *tan* or *tans* for *temps* would disfigure the word and abolish all indication of its etymology, and *tan* for *tant* would not be phonetic before a vowel. The reformers decided to preserve final *s* and *t*, and so were driven to use *êt* for *est*, and *et* for *et*, although the phonetic *ê* and *e* must have been tempting because of their reasonableness.

"All things considered," we are told, "the reform of French orthography presents so many difficulties and of such a kind that, much as we may praise the efforts of the reformers, it can be developed and applied usefully only in a few points, and for the present it will be absolutely necessary to confine it to the alterations which have been accepted by the French Academy." Now the changes accepted by the French Academy are very few, indeed.

In Italy on December 10th, 1910, under the auspices of the *Società Italiana per il Progresso delle Scienze*, there was founded the *Società Ortografica Italiana*, and at a meeting in October, 1911, presided over first by Prof. I. Guidi and then by Prof. Pio Rajna, it was resolved to promote the acceptance, for use in elementary schools, of a minimum reform program as follows:

1. The letters *h*, *j* and *q* to be abolished. Examples, *io ò, ieri, kuesto*.
2. The signs *k* and *g* to be used for the gutturals; *c* and *g* (temporarily *ci* and *gi*) for the palatals. Examples, *anke, lingue; traccati* (temporarily *tracciati*), *gorni* (temporarily *giorni*).
3. *gl* and *sc* to be used without a following *i*, before all vowels; *gn* to be kept. Examples, *figlo, gl'antiki, scame, ingegnere*.
4. Accent to be used in parts of *avere* instead of *h*.

The minutes and circulars of the Society were immediately edited with these alterations by Prof. P. A. Goidànich, while a wider reform was held in reserve. This latter contemplated the writing of \tilde{n} for *gn*, \tilde{s} for *sc*, \tilde{l} for *gl*, and special signs for voiced and unvoiced *s* and *z*, and for close and open *e* and *o*.

De Gregorio ably defends the abolishing of *h*, *j*, and *q*, and reasonably proposes that *x* and *y* should be deprived of the limited usage they now enjoy. The former represents no other than the sounds *ks*, and the latter is only another sign for semivocalic *i*. Of the signs proposed for the palatal consonants he speaks as follows:

Italian children are taught to call the letters *c* and *g* "ci" and "gi," and yet are not allowed to pronounce *ca* and *go* "cia" and "gio": for their sake as well as for consistency the different sounds should be distinguished graphically. He himself had formerly proposed the four signs \dot{k} and \dot{c} , \dot{g} and \dot{g} , thus excluding the sign *c* which is used in other languages for different sounds (*s* in English and French, *z* in German, *th* in Spanish). But if *c* were excluded, *g* would remain open to similar objections, and if *g* were preserved it would be unreasonable to banish a simple sign like *c*, which might well be kept for the unvoiced prepalatal. These two are simple sounds, notwithstanding the German writings *tsch* and *dsch* and the English *ch* and *dg*. For the voiced prepalatal he now proposes italic *g* (the sign advocated for the voiced guttural by the Society), and so the four signs would be \dot{k} and *c*, *g* and *g*. It is a mistake, he says, to suppose that \dot{k} is not a national Italian sign, for all mss. of the 13th, 14th and 15th centuries have it, especially southern mss. As for the suggested temporary writings *ci* and *gi*, he thinks it would be better to settle now a matter that must be settled sometime.

He admits that the present signs *gn*, *gli*, *sci*, are monstrosities, but the new signs proposed in the minimum program, *gl* and *sc* (without *i*) are not scientific. *gl* is modelled on *gn*, itself indefensible since it is not phonetic even when etymological (*degno*), and *gl* is neither phonetic nor etymological, while to simplify *sci* by dropping the *i* is to cause *c* to play a double rôle. He therefore supports the proposals in the reserve program: \tilde{n} , \tilde{l} , \tilde{s} , the first two of which are already familiar in Spanish.

He also proposes that the sign \hat{i} be used for the plural of nouns

ending in the singular in unaccented *io*. The 2d pers. Pres. Ind. of verbs like *risparmiare* should be written *risparmii*. It is curious that he does not even consider the writing of plurals such as *studi*, and of verb-forms such as *tu risparmi*, which are nevertheless in good use and apparently phonetic.² He is not in favor of using new signs for *k* and *g* palatalized by a following semivocalic *i*, although he is convinced that these are simple sounds like *ĩ* and *ñ*.

"Long vowels," he says, "and consonants uttered with energy, are ordinarily represented by doubling the sign," a statement which, as regards vowels, is true of only very few words. It has often been pointed out, and has been demonstrated experimentally,³ that stressed vowels before single consonants are much longer than before doubled consonants, but these quantities do not appear in the written word. The expression "consonants uttered with energy" and his saying later that the writing of doubled consonants is "not scientific," seems to show that De Gregorio holds that doubled consonants represent energy but not length, and yet Josselyn showed that they take more time to pronounce than single consonants. No change in the writing is suggested.

The interests of foreigners are shockingly neglected by the author where he disapproves of the reformers' intention to distinguish the qualities of *e* and *o*. His reasons are that popular pronunciation of these vowels differs in the various regions of Italy, and that the public should be spared the burden of deciding how to write them. The "vernaculars" do differ, but they differ consistently, and a Roman will always say *Rôma*, and a Venetian *bêne*, while a Tuscan will always say *Róma* and *bêne*. If a foreigner, in view of the difficulty, undertakes to disregard the qualities, he will speak a language that will not sound like any Italian, but if he reasonably chooses to adopt the Tuscan pronunciation he will find it very difficult to learn so long as the qualities are not indicated in the writing. To mark the difference between the close and open stressed vowels would not be an excessive burden, and would be a step toward uniformity in Italy as well as an immense boon to foreigners. The problem of distinguishing voiced and unvoiced *s* and *z*, which De Gregorio also sets aside, is much less important, but it is again dis-

² Cf. Malagoli, *Ortoepia e Ortografia Italiana Moderna*, Milano, 1905, p. 29.

³ Cf. Josselyn, *Phonétique Italienne*, Paris, 1900.

appointing to find that he has no recommendations to make as to the use of new accents. He merely reports that the "Congresso Ortografico" was in favor of written accents to distinguish homonyms of spelling such as *tórre* and *tòrre*, and that Malagoli has made a list of the least known proparoxytones, with the accents noted. It is the proparoxytones that cause the greatest difficulty to foreigners, and it would be a great advantage to have them all marked. If this had been done in the past we should have avoided the traditional mis-pronunciation of Milton's *L'Allegro* and of Walpole's *Castle of Otranto*, and *Trissino* would no longer mean a trap.

De Gregorio's conclusion, which is printed with the new spelling, meets common objections to spelling-reform; advocates the preparation of a manual of writing, new dictionaries and the promulgation of the manual of the Società Ortografica; comments on the arrangement of the new alphabet, and predicts that the new orthography will be stable because it will be phonetic—he does not consider the possibility of sound-change in modern times. The introduction of the new system will not be more difficult than was that of the decimal system of weights and measures: it will soon be familiar. "Then there will be no more doubt as to the meaning of letters in their various positions, no need of further alterations, no more differences of pronunciation among the different nations. And Italian orthography, already so transparent, will become, after undergoing a little reformation, actually perfect, so as to be the model for the writing of all the other languages." 'Utopia' is the word that naturally occurs to one on reading these concluding sentences, but it is a word that is already almost phonetically spelled in all languages. However, before the desired *Pax Romana* can be established, the "difficile" French and the stubborn English will have to be overcome,—to say nothing of the "irto increscioso alemanno."

J. E. SHAW.

Der Teufel in den deutschen geistlichen Spielen des Mittelalters und der Reformationszeit von Dr. M. J. Rudwin. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1915. [Hesperia: Schriften zur germanischen Philologie, 6.] xi + 194 pp.

In this work Dr. Rudwin has expanded his doctor's dissertation, *Die Teufelsszenen im geistlichen Drama des deutschen Mittelalters*, into a study on very broad lines of the rôle of the devil in religious drama and the creator of this rôle: the German people of the Middle Ages, "Denn wie wir ein Volk durch seinen Gottesbegriff kennen lernen, so können wir auch anderseits ein Volk nach seinem Teufel beurteilen." (Page v.) The reader is left, for the most part, to draw his own conclusions; but the author has furnished ample material, painstakingly and attractively arranged, and, in spite of the fact that some unpublished manuscripts have not been consulted, there is probably little or nothing to add to the description of the devil and his surroundings as far as religious drama is concerned. It is a matter for regret, however, that from the beginning of critical investigation of medieval drama a strong line of demarcation and division has been drawn between religious and non-religious plays, in spite of the fact that the one kind merges almost imperceptibly into the other. Convenient as it may be to limit a field of investigation in this way, yet the art of drama is so unified, the reciprocal influence of religious and non-religious plays, as of tragedy and comedy, is so strong that to leave one out of consideration when treating the other is to run the risk of not being entirely clear or complete. Thus Dr. Rudwin correctly points out that the devil in religious plays is a character borrowed from the Bible and the Apocrypha, resting on Christian tradition, and that the devil, as he appears at first in these plays, is by no means the buffoon of the old Germanic folk festivals; yet he adds that the devil owes his origin indirectly to these same heathen festivities in which a kind of devil's mumming can be traced back to the ninth century, although, as he says elsewhere it would be a mistake to consider the devil as merely the successor of the fun maker in the Feast of Fools or as the predecessor of the *Hanswurst* or *Pickelhering*. One cannot help feeling, however, that had Dr. Rudwin included in his investigations such plays as the *Neidhartspiele* he could have answered more completely the question of the interrelationships among the comic characters in the old folk festivals, the

Germanic and the Christian devils, and the later *Hanswurst*. In the devil scene in the *Neidhartspiel* the devil presents a curious mixed rôle of villain and buffoon which offers interesting material for the investigation of the devil in religious plays in his relations to comic characters in profane plays, especially as this scene shows the influence not only of religious drama but also of the secular *Fastnachtspiel*.

In regard to the growth of the element of comedy in this rôle, it is pointed out that not only was the appearance of the devil grotesque and grimly humorous, but that from the defeats suffered by this enemy of God and man sprang the impression of stupidity which would easily arouse scornful laughter. That the devil was at first purely a villain is probably the most important factor in the development of this character into a comic figure. It may be added that the comic element is an inevitable outgrowth of the villain character, which, by the very fact that it is a caricature of the ideal, is bound to have a grotesque and humorous element which rises to the surface sometimes in spite of the playwright. The Jew of Malta and Shylock are excellent examples of rôles in which the villain and comic elements are so inseparable that the general effect depends upon the interpretation of the actor and the mood of the audience. In view of this close relationship between the villain and the comic characters, perhaps Dr. Rudwin will at some future time investigate the question of the rôle of the devil in medieval comedy and complete this work so well begun.

In regard to the religious drama, Dr. Rudwin has clearly shown the overwhelming importance of the rôle of the devil, the character which "ties the knot of the greatest world tragedy." As he says, without the devil in religious drama there would have been no drama. In other words, true dramatic action arose only when the devil ranged himself as an antagonist. Until that time there had been only a show or spectacle. The rôle of the devil is, therefore, of the utmost importance in the development of medieval technique of the drama, for in spite of many assertions to the contrary, the drama of that period had a technique of its own; and investigators of that subject will find this book very helpful and suggestive. In tracing the development of the rôle, Dr. Rudwin inclines to the theory that the devil first appeared in the scene of the *Descent into Hell*, although the first extant play in which a devil appears is the twelfth century *Sponsus*. With the growth of

the Easter Play into the Passion Play is commensurate the growth of the devil's rôle, developing from a passive secondary character into an active character of the first rank. The development of the rôle is traced as the different scenes are added to the cycle of the Passion Play until, with the inclusion of the episodes of the Fall of Man and the Last Judgment, the devil "appears as the Alpha and Omega of the Christian world system."

A careful study is made of the rôle of the devil in all of the scenes in which he appears. In each case the theological or biblical foundations for the part are given; the source of the rôle is indicated and its development is traced; the contents of the scene are fully described; the number of verses in each scene in which the devil plays a part, and the different names applied to the devils are tabulated; the professions and the social status of the souls in Hell are given. Thus these scenes in Hell, especially, as the author points out, are a humorous satire on the social and religious life on earth. They also contain, perhaps unconsciously, the moral of the play.

The stage setting of Hell is found to be far more simple than in French plays of this period, there being no subdivision of the scene to indicate the different localities in Hell, such as Limbo. At times even the interior of the scene is not shown, but the action took place in front of the entrance where the wine vat, on which the devil sat, was placed. Dr. Rudwin rejects correctly the theory of the stage built up in three stories of which the lower represented Hell, but he admits that the setting for Hell may well have been on a slightly lower level than the stage proper. This is in all probability the correct view; but, as this is one of the vexed questions of the system of medieval stage decoration, we wish that evidence upon which this conclusion is based had been given.

In connection with the stage setting of Hell on the German stage, Dr. Rudwin takes up the question of the *dolium* or wine vat upon which the devil sits enthroned in his realm, and disagrees with the generally accepted view that the *dolium* was a kind of improvised, symbolic setting for the Hell scene. "Das Dolium," he says, "war nichts mehr als der Standort des Hauptteufels, der Thron des Höllenfürsten, den himmlischen Thron parodierend." This stage property, however, seems to have had a different signification from that given it by Dr. Rudwin and the other commentators on the subject. In the Vulgate, Revelation xiv, 19-20

reads as follows: *Misit igitur angelus falcem suam acutam in terram et vindemiavit vineam terrae et misit in lacum irae Dei magnum et calcatus est lacus extra civitatem*, etc. The word *lacus* means, especially in classical Latin, a vat into which wine flowed from the press. DuCange, however, gives only *piscina* as the meaning of *lacus* in medieval Latin; but for *dolium* he gives *cupa major*, *lacus vinarius*. He cites from the Charta of Bishop Gebhart (1222) a passage in which the word *dolium* is used for the classical Latin *lacus*, or wine vat. The *dolium* of the stage directions in these plays is, therefore, evidently medieval Latin for *lacus* and, in all probability, refers to the wine vat of the wrath of God in this passage of the Bible, or wine press, as the King James version translates it. Since a series of illustrations of this vision, having their origin, according to M. Mâle,¹ in the Wittenberg Bible (1522), shows only the angels gathering and pressing the grapes in the vat, the question may be raised as to the symbolism of the devil in this connection. The answer lies in a miniature of the early 14th century, in a Latin and French manuscript of the Apocalypse, which also illustrates these verses.² An angel is cutting the vines and is handing the grapes to a devil seated on the wine press of the wrath of God. That in this miniature the *lacus* is a medieval wine press and not a vat need not trouble us. The artist has merely committed a common anachronism. We plainly have, then, in art a tradition of a *dolium*, representing symbolically the wrath of God, serving as a seat for the devil. This symbolism of medieval iconography was probably adopted on the stage without question and perhaps without clear knowledge of its full significance, just as many a piece of stage setting, especially for the Hell scene, was copied bodily from some plastic representation of the same subject. Thus it would not be surprising if this bit of symbolism, having developed into a mere stage tradition, was never referred to in the lines of the plays themselves, especially as the interpretations of the Apocalypse were constantly varying and changing entirely. In this connection it may be suggested that Dr. Rudwin could find at least corroborative evidence for many of his conclusions in the iconography of the Middle Ages. Indeed, it would be well worth while to investigate the plastic representation of the Descent into

¹ E. Mâle, *L'art religieux de la fin du moyen âge en France*. Paris, 1908.

² British Museum Add. ms. 17333, f. 28. See: *Reproductions from Illuminated Manuscripts in the British Museum*. 1910.

Hell scene—probably of Byzantine origin—and the Last Judgment scene with reference to the questions of priority and their general conception, as a means of throwing light on the introduction of the rôle of the devil and the development of the Passion Play. As the present writer has tried to show,³ influence was not merely exerted on the art of the Middle Ages by contemporary stage setting according to the view of M. Mâle, but there was at least as strong an influence in the other direction. With his wide knowledge of the devil on the stage, Dr. Rudwin might well investigate the question of the reciprocal influence of art and drama on the representation of the devil.

The second part of the book is devoted to a study of the devil and all of his activities as reflected by the religious drama. This is the most original and the most valuable part of this interesting monograph. From the passive rôle in the Descent into Hell scene or from the mute rôle in the *Sponsus* the character of the devil develops, subdivides, and one may say propagates itself, until there is a whole realm of evil spirits with Lucifer in command, Satan as his lieutenant, and the lesser devils in attendance. Nor are these devils all of one piece. A keen analysis shows the difference in character between Lucifer and Satan and the lesser demons. The author also explains their relations to the medieval man, woman, and priest, and with the heavenly powers. He shows that much of the character of the devil can be explained by the fact that the rôle develops as a contrast to and as the reverse side of the heroic rôle, that the devil is the *simia Dei*. Indeed, almost everything appertaining to the divine power is caricatured in this interesting personification of the power of evil. Nothing seems to have been omitted which tends to elucidate the conception of the devil in the Middle Ages in Germany. Full details are given of what may be called the daily life of the inhabitants of Hell, their speech, occupations, food, dances, songs, etc., being carefully described. After reading this book one is convinced that the same methods may well be applied to a study of the devil in the drama of the Middle Ages in England and France. Only it is to be hoped that all forms of drama, not merely plays on religious subjects, will be employed as material for such investigation in the future.

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³ *Romanic Review*, IV, No. 3.

HONORÉ DE BALZAC, *Eugénie Grandet*. Prepared for class use, with introduction, notes and vocabulary by T. ATKINSON JENKINS. New York, Holt and Co., 1915. xx + 308 pp. and two illustrations.

RENÉ BAZIN, *Le Blé qui lève*. Edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary by THEODORE LEE NEFF. New York, Holt and Co., 1915. xxv + 300 pp. and five illustrations.

From a cultural as well as from a linguistic point of view Bazin's stories are so eminently suited for use in American class rooms, that we welcome the addition of *Le Blé qui lève* to our stock of annotated works.

An appreciative introduction brings out, beside the necessary biographical details, the author's originality and his attitude toward what he considers the novelist's function which is to interest, to instruct, and to elevate the mind.¹

The notes and vocabulary are satisfactory as far as they have been tested, but a large part of what appears in the notes might well have been relegated to the vocabulary. Thus, since Cambrai, Beauvais, Blida, Lyon, and other names appear in the vocabulary, why not also Chartres, Bourges etc.? That Chartres was "the home of La Chapelle, E. Deschamps and other illustrious Frenchmen" will scarcely appeal to Freshmen and Sophomores. *On aurait dit des chrétiens* (51.8) should be under dire; and why do Mr. Neff and many other editors persist in translating that expression by 'One would have said'? The exact meaning of course is 'They looked for all the world like Christians,' or 'One might have taken them for Christians.'

61.9: *que ça n'est guère* (see voc. under *guère*) means: 'that is not much,' or 'that's hardly worth the while,' and not as the vocabulary has it: 'that is scarcely possible, that isn't easy.' 62.28: *bijoux peu titrés*; the word *titré* is translated in the vocabulary by 'genuine.' In France gold that is less than 18 carats is called *à bas titre*; the *titre* being the proportion of gold or silver contained in coin, plate, jewelry, etc. The word *rouleau* in *battre le blé au*

¹ Mr. Neff adopts a modified reformed spelling, but is not always consistent as instanced by the following: *preacht*, p. xi; *reached*, p. 203; *introducet* and *introduced*, both participles, on p. xxi; *touched*, p. 202; *possessed*, p. xv; *developt*, p. 252 (under *hauteur*); the imperfect *lookt*, p. 202; *wished*, p. 204, elsewhere *wisht*.

rouleau is translated by 'roller.' It is in reality the business end of the flail. On page three occurs the sentence: *un front bas sous des cheveux châtain, durs, qui faisaient éperon au milieu sur la peau mate.* The vocabulary translates *éperon* (occurring but once) by 'spur, tuft.' It is a spur, but not a tuft, a spur meaning a sharp point. 75.11: *C'est rudement tapé*, referring to a speech. The vocabulary has: 'That's a famous speech,' which is correct; but a wrong impression is conveyed by the addition: 'that's hitting hard.' There is here no more idea of hitting than in the English: 'He struck it right.' *Tapé* is slang for *réussi*. Compare: *Jupiter avait une bonne tête, Mars était tapé.* (Zola, *Nana*); and *Aussi a-t-on fait plusieurs couplets sur tous les ministres dont le portrait est bien tapé* (*Journal de Barbier*, 1742). Of a well turned phrase or speech, or a good likeness one may say: *c'est tapé*, or of the latter, and less elegantly still: *c'est craché*.

78.20: *Il en était le maître et moi d'accepter* is rendered by 'He was competent to do so, and I accepted.' The note adds: *D'accepter* is the historical infinitive. Or by changing the punctuation slightly, we may make a reading which also seems good: *Il en était le maître . . . et moi (j'étais le maître) d'accepter.* There is no doubt whatever that the latter is the correct interpretation. Gilbert did not mean to imply that he hastened to accept, but merely that he was free to do so. 104.28: P. L. M. stands for Paris-Lyon-Méditerranée, not for Paris-Lyon-Marseille.

Proof reading has been done with much care, the reviewer having noticed only two misprints. In the voc. under *quelque* read *sort*, and a little further down *quérir*; in the introduction, first line read western for eastern; p. xiii, omit his before *les Misérables*.

Professor Jenkins has kept little of the material of the Bergeron edition of *Eugénie Grandet* used these twenty years. The extreme care with which he has acquitted himself of his task has resulted in what might be termed in a way an *édition définitive*. The introduction, though not too long, contains the essentials of the author's life and character; the facts are well selected, well condensed, and well presented. The same may be said of the preparatory remarks to the novel in hand. The notes, moreover—and this is a happy innovation in text editing—abound in penetrating running comments intended to impress on the reader the high literary value of the work. Having read abundantly *autour de son sujet*, the editor

is enabled to give us, together with the benefit of his own readings and his own meditations, a clear and suggestive interpretation of the story and of the characters. Even though the student were not in the end convinced "that *Eugénie Grandet* is a masterpiece of a great novelist" we refuse to believe that the editor's work could be considered a failure.

Nearly all matters of a linguistic, geographic, historic or biographic nature are to be found in the vocabulary, while a separate section is reserved for grammatical peculiarities. The notes are thus almost entirely of an interpretative character.

The following unimportant remarks are offered *par acquit de conscience*. 19.12: *sa taille haute*. This refers to Nanon, the maid, who is said to be 5 feet 8 inches tall. Mr. Jenkins remarks that "In France a man from 5 ft. 4 in. up to 5 ft. 8 or 9 in. is said to be "*de grande taille*." But 5 ft. 8 in. in French measurement are equivalent to more than 6 English feet, the French *pie*d being 0.^m 324, the *pouce* 0.027. *Cinq pieds huit pouces* = 1.^m 836, while 6 English feet = 1.^m 824, or over one centimeter less.

34.13: *il est neuve-s-heures*. The note reads: "This is a so-called *fausse liaison* like *à quatre-s-yeux*, *il reviendra-z-à Pâques*."

That is not quite correct else the writer would have transcribed *neuf-z-heures* or *neuve-s-heures* or something similar, but certainly not with *ff*. As a matter of fact a pun is intended on *neuf soeurs*. What the allusion is, or whether there is any allusion at all I am unable to say, but I do know that the *f* is here never voiced. The original perpetrator of this atrocious play of words may have had in mind the *neuf muses* confusing them with the *Heures* (jeunes déesses qui ouvraient ou fermaient les portes du ciel, présidaient aux saisons etc.) Cf. Dante: E già le quatre ancelle eran del giorno rimase addietro, *Purg.* XXII, 18-19). 61.30: *Quien!* I find nowhere stated that this is dialectical for *tiens!* 166.4: *Va, mon enfant, tu donnes la vie à ton père; mais tu lui rends ce qu'il t'a donné*. Does *ce qu'il t'a donné* really refer to the *beau trésor* of rare coins? I doubt it. I feel more inclined to think that it has reference to life which Grandet has given his daughter. A little further the old miser says: *La vie est une affaire*. 177.23: *le nez avait l'impertinence de rougir*. The editor quotes Rostand's lines in *Cyrano de Bergerac*, act I, sc. iv. In order that the students might not think that Rostand borrowed this conceit from Balzac, it might be well to quote Théophile Viau's more famous lines in

Pirame et Thisbé: Le voilà, le poignard qui du sang de son maître s'est souillé lâchement; il en rougit, le traître. And being on that subject there can be no harm in mentioning Gloucester's words in *Henry VI*: "See how my sword weeps for the poor king's death." 178.27-28: Is the fashionable quarter of Paris today the Boulevard des Italiens, or the Quartier de l'Etoile and Passy? *Question de goût* perhaps. 187.8: *Vous devez conserver ce que Dieu vous a donné.* Professor Jenkins is of opinion that the abbé's reasoning is weak, and that there was nothing "to prevent Eugénie from entering a convent and leaving all her fortune to charitable foundations." But the abbé and Balzac knew that once Eugénie entered a convent, her fortune would go with her never to return again, way out of reach of the abbé, and what a parishioner the good curé and the town of Saumur would lose!

Grammatical notes: § 1c. It is stated that Grandet's language is often careless, and as examples *du bon vin*, 96.18, and *du bon or*, 159.16, are cited. Grammars still continue to hold similar views, but even the best speakers disregard that rule today.

§ 2a. Proper names of persons which are used to designate persons that resemble the ones named generally take the mark of the plural, and *des Nanons*, *des Eugénies* would have been more in accord with the best usage. § 5b. "Balzac continues to use *en* in speaking of persons where the best usage now avoids it: *pour écouter son cousin croyant en avoir entendu les soupirs.*" The reason why *en* was used here is obvious: if the writer had used *ses soupirs* we should have two possessives in the third person, one referring to Eugénie, the other to Charles, and whereas this would not create any confusion, it would look somewhat awkward; *les soupirs de ce dernier* or *de celui-ci* would have been correct but heavy. Moreover, are there not many offenders against this supposed rule? François de Curel, a very careful and elegant writer in *L'Envers d'une sainte*, p. 54 (édition Stock): *Hier j'ai eu l'occasion de dire deux mots à Georges sans témoins. J'ai obtenu qu'il vous ferait une visite . . . Je tiens à savoir ce que vous en pensez* (She means: what you think of him). It would be an easy matter to multiply instances taken from the best modern writers.²

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² Misprints: P. 199, note 27 should read 5.27; note 36.4-5 should read 36.5-6; note 124-6 read *Gretchen*; 149.28 read *somewhat* for *some*; note 158.6 read *Fête-Dieu*; p. 226,i read *il oubliait*.

WILLIAM DUDLEY FOULKE, *Some Love Songs of Petrarch*. Translated and annotated and with a biographical introduction. Oxford University Press, 1915. 244 pp. \$1.15.

From the time of Wyatt and Surrey on, attempts have been made to put Petrarch's lyrics into English; but in comparison with the translations from Dante, those from Petrarch are insignificant. A long series of translated sonnets is necessarily monotonous, and especially so when the originals themselves display a certain monotony. Since the charm and the influence of Petrarch depend on his perfect adaptation of expression to thought, rather than on any variety or originality in the thought itself, the *Canzoniere* loses nearly everything when its poetic form is lost. Even though certain versions of single lyrics do reproduce something of the effect, a translator must soon find himself hampered by the greater paucity of rhyme-words in English than in Italian; and it is obviously impossible to use rhyme in a translation without modifying the meaning.

In most of the seventy-five sonnets which he has translated, Mr. Foulke uses the Shakespearean sonnet-form (ABAB, CDCD, EFEF, GG), which is much easier to manage in English than the Italian form (ABBA, ABBA in the quatrains). The closing couplet, however, produces an effect foreign to the Italian sonnet. For instance, Mr. Foulke compresses the last three lines of Son. 3 into these two:

Scant honour his to wound me thus, nor show
To you, well armed against him, even his bow!

and accordingly he inserts an entire line that has no equivalent in the original. The insertion of extra words is perhaps inevitable in a rhymed translation, but it is unfortunate; it seems to overload verses that in the original are accurately balanced. Thus in the rendering of the first quatrain of the sonnet quoted above, the words in italics are additions by the translator:

It was the day when the Sun's *heavy* rays
Grew pale in pity of his *suffering* Lord,
When I fell captive, lady, to *the* gaze
Of your fair eyes, *fast* bound in *love's strong* cord;

furthermore, the word "Lord" is inaccurate for "*fattore*," and the phrase "*e non me ne guardai*" is omitted. These remarks are not meant so much in criticism of Mr. Foulke's work, as to illustrate the hopelessness of undertaking to reproduce accurately the

thought of Petrarch in a form even remotely suggesting the original: either accuracy or form must be sacrificed. In rendering the *Canzoni*, he departs widely from the original metre; but it is interesting to observe that the most successful translation in the collection is the one which follows with remarkable faithfulness the intricate structure of the *Sestina* (the only lapse being the failure to introduce the end-word "Earth" in the first line of the *Commiato*). The first stanza may be quoted:

Unto whatever creature dwells on earth,
(Save only those whose eyes do hate the sun)
The time to toil is while it still is day;
And when at last the heavens light their stars,
Man homeward turns, the beasts hide in the wood
And find repose at least until the dawn.

The translation, with the obligatory repetition in every stanza of the same end-words, is no more forced or stilted than the Italian. At his best Mr. Foulke gives a very fair suggestion of Petrarch's effect, but on the whole his work proves how elusive this effect is. In spite of not having attained complete success, he deserves gratitude and appreciation for his serious effort to present the poet to English readers.

The title "Some Love Songs of Petrarch" is not entirely descriptive. Some of the poems translated (*e. g.*, *Fiamma del Ciel*, p. 45; *Italia Mia*, p. 101; and the hymn to the Virgin, p. 188) are not love songs; while the biographical introduction and the appendix fill twice as many pages as the translations. The introduction makes no pretense to originality; it is agreeably written, and will help to popularize the traditional biography of Petrarch. An index is added. Mr. Foulke gives extensive extracts from Petrarch's letters, always quoting them at second hand from such books as those of Hollway-Calthrop and M. F. Jerrold; but not appearing to be acquainted with the obvious book of Robinson and Rolfe. He refers constantly to the untrustworthy De Sade, and makes little use of the results of modern scholarship. He stoutly supports the reality of Laura and of Petrarch's love for her, devoting an appendix of nearly twenty pages to a discussion of the matter; but he advances no new arguments. There are a number of inaccuracies and obscurities of statement, such as this: "The manuscript thus sent [to Malatesta in 1373] is regarded as perhaps the most valuable now existing of the Italian poems of Petrarch" (p. 91); no reference is given, and nothing is said as to the present location of

the manuscript in question, which is certainly not the Vatican ms. No. 3195. Why does Mr. Foulke nowhere mention this, the poet's own copy of his Italian writings? "A certain pessimism in his nature" is hardly accurate for "Acidia" (p. 199).

It is a pity that Mr. Foulke did not use more critical judgment in choosing his authorities, but after all the translations are the important part of the work. The book is attractively and accurately printed at Oxford. Since nothing is said as to the residence of the translator, it would be natural to infer that he was British. He is, however, a native of New York, now living in Indiana.

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CORRESPONDENCE

AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF HONORÉ DE BALZAC

The following letter of Honoré de Balzac is found in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia in the Ferdinand J. Dreer collection of autographs. A catalogue of this collection, which comprises about nine thousand letters, was printed for the society in 1890. The only mention which seems to have been made of the Balzac letter is in Spoelberch de Lovenjoul's exceedingly valuable book, *Autour de Honoré de Balzac*, (Paris, 1897, pp. 269 and 270), where the author declares that he has made several attempts to obtain a copy of the document, and regrets the fact that he has never succeeded.

The letter reads as follows:

Monsieur le conseiller,

J'ai parlé avec tant d'enthousiasme des livres curieux par leur bizarrerie que vous m'avez montrés, ainsi que des deux bustes de David, qu'une personne de mes amies, dont la réputation d'esprit a dû venir jusqu'à vous, Mme Hanska, a le désir de voir la bibliothèque, et j'avoue que je la reverrai avec le plus grand plaisir; si donc demain il faisait beau, nous vous rendrions visite à onze heures.

Je saisis cette occasion de vous réitérer mes remerciemens de la bonne grâce avec laquelle vous m'avez montré vos trésors, en vous offrant l'expression de mes sentimens les plus distingués.

de Balzac.

Dresde, 9 mai.

During Balzac's numerous visits to Germany he was in the capital of Saxony on two occasions in the month of May—in 1845, when he spent a brief period of time there with Mme Hanska, and in 1850, on his honeymoon trip from Russia. The present letter could not have been written during this latter sojourn, since Balzac would not have referred to his wife either as Mme Hanska or as "une personne de mes amies."

The year 1845 embraces the most unproductive months of Balzac's literary career. His letters during this period to Mme Hanska, who was spending the winter in Dresden, express a constant note of impatience because of their separation, and the novelist repeatedly begs his friend to allow him to join her. In February, he impulsively proposes that she and her niece come to Paris incognito for the Spring season.¹ This invitation, we know, was not accepted. Finally, on the 18th of April, Balzac writes to Mme Hanska from Paris to reserve for him a suite of rooms in Dresden, and declares that he will join her in a few days. A certain amount of mystery is attached to this voyage which Balzac evidently wished to keep secret, and during the whole time that he spent in Dresden, he apparently discontinued his usual correspondence with Paris friends.

The librarian of the Royal Public Library from 1835 to 1852 was Konstantin Karl Falkenstein,² who, in 1839, published at Dresden a catalogue of the collections under his care, with the following title: *Beschreibung der Königlichen Oeffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*. On the title-page of the volume we learn that the author possessed the distinction of being *Königl. Sächs. Hofrath und Bibliothekar*. There seems to be no doubt then that Balzac's note to "Monsieur le conseiller" is addressed to Hofrath Falkenstein of the Dresden Library.

On the main staircase of the library are two marble busts of Goethe and Tieck made by David d'Angers, whose bust of Balzac had been recently completed. Only a few months previous to this visit to Dresden the novelist had written to Mme Hanska of the bust, and promised to send her a replica of it.³ It was doubtless with some vanity then that he wrote to ask permission to show his

¹ *Corr.*, Calmann-Lévy ed., p. 420.

² *Meyers Konversations-Lexikon*, VI, 294.

³ Letter dated Feb. 15, 1845. *Corr.*, Calmann-Lévy ed., p. 423.

distinguished Russian friend these other tributes to genius, done by the same sculptor.

In the published correspondence of Balzac for 1845 there is only one letter which may have been written from Dresden. In this letter to Froment Meurice the address of the sender is omitted, and the barest reference is made to an absence from Paris. The present letter is then interesting as the only dated document we have from the author of the *Comédie Humaine* during this brief and mysterious voyage to Germany in 1845.

I am indebted to Mr. Albert J. Edmunds of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and to Mr. Gregory Keen, trustee of the Ferdinand J. Dreer estate, for their kindness in permitting me to publish the above letter.

WALTER SCOTT HASTINGS.

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UNE CLEF DES *Caractères* DE LA BRUYÈRE

Dans son savant Appendice aux *Caractères* de La Bruyère¹ M. G. Servois décrit un petit cahier imprimé en 1697 qu'il considère comme la première clef imprimée des *Caractères*. Un exemplaire de cet opuscule précieux se trouve à la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris, où il porte la cote R 2810 + A (Inv. R 18, 813).

Il existe de cette clef rarissime une copie manuscrite qu'on n'a pas encore signalée comme telle. Nous la trouvons au tome 39 de la *Bibliothèque universelle*, 1680-1732, de l'abbé Philippe Drouyn, conservée à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.² C'est un petit cahier manuscrit, 9½ x 17 cm., inséré dans un grand recueil in-folio. Les feuilles sont numérotées de 269 à 284, mais le texte ne comprend que les ff. 269 à 281a.

La première partie du manuscrit est une copie fidèle de la clef imprimée de 1697, dont elle reproduit toutes les particularités.³ Elle remplit les ff. 269-279, les derniers noms commentés étant ceux de Louvois et de M. de Seignelay. La notice finale de la clef imprimée⁴ s'y trouve également sous la forme suivante :

"Monsieur *de-la-bruyere* (*biffé*) jean de la / *Brye* (*biffé*) Bruyere etoit gentilhomme de / Mr. le prince et l'un des quarante

¹ Ed. des Grands Ecrivains, I, 399; III, 153, No. 17.

² Voir dans le *Catalogue des mss. de la Bibl. de l'Arsenal*, v, 398; VIII, 519 sqq., une notice sur Drouyn. P. Lacroix, dans un article sur la *Bibl. univ.* (*Cabinet historique*, XVII, 33-49 (1871)), ne mentionne pas cette clef.

³ Voir les indications de l'Appendice des Gr. Ecr., *passim*.

⁴ Gr. Ecr. I, 339, n. 1.

de / l'academie françoise. il mourut- / subitement le jeudi 10. may. 1696. a / 10. heures du soir aage de 57 ans."

Plus bas on a ajouté cette mention: "ont (*sic!*) croit qu'il a esté empoisonné a la / sollicitation de quelques grands qui / luy en vouloient a cause de ses caractheres."

A la même page (ff. 279-281a), sous le titre "Augmentations de la clef des caractheres de Theophraste," suit, écrite de la même main, une seconde série beaucoup plus restreinte de notices, puisées dans les nombreuses clefs du commencement du 18^e siècle. En voici les premiers trois articles:

Lise, la comtesse d'Olonne *
Dorinne, madlle, foucault *
combien de, madlle de Rassac, Bôlé et Amelin *

Notons encore l'indication suivante (f. 279b) qui se rapporterait au No. 42 des Grands Ecrivains (I, 259) et que M. Servois passe sous silence: "*l'on ouvre*, les marchands." L'annotation est, évidemment, peu spirituelle, la réflexion de La Bruyère ayant un caractère plutôt générale.

Voici le dernier article de notre clef:

"*les citations*, l'abbé Boileau qui est mort depuis peu." *

L'abbé Boileau mourut en 1704; nous obtenons ainsi l'année 1704 ou 1705 comme date approximative de notre manuscrit.

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A PARALLEL TO THE *Rosengarten* THEME

This parallel has been concealed by the inapposite analogues suggested by von der Hagen in his edition of *Der wize Rosendorn*.¹ The editor, who failed to see its similarity to the *Rosengarten* of the epics and the *märchen*, sought to relate the description to stories

* Cette indication se trouve déjà dans la clef de 1697, qui est seule à placer ici ce nom. Elle a été omise dans la première partie de notre clef manuscrite.

* Gr. Ecr. I, 455: Clefs du 18^e siècle.

* *Ib.* 459: Clef du 18^e siècle.

* Cf. Gr. Ecr. II, 221, No. 4, et 416.—Une dernière notice explique les renvois aux éditions de Lyon et de Paris (1696) qui se trouvent en marge du manuscrit.—Voir, sur ces éditions, Gr. Ecr. III, 148, No. 9.

¹ *Gesammtabenteuer*, Stuttgart, 1850, III, 21 f. Cf. also the notes, pp. v-viii; on the manuscript, cf. p. 763. It does not appear whether the tale in the Vienna MS. is identical or not, cf. p. 761. The text is based solely on the Dresden MS. of 1447.

of swan-maidens. This he was led to do by his equating of the *schwank* with an Old French *fabliau* which contains the swan-maiden incident. It is not necessary to discuss the extremely obscene tale with which the *Rosengarten* theme is combined further than to say that it has only the slightest connection with the *fabliau*. Indeed no particularly close parallel to the German tale is to be found in the analogues cited for the French one.²

The detailed description of the *wurzgarten*, as it is called in the *schwank*, occupies thirty-seven lines. The following details are given: The owner (*ein junkvrouwe*) seeks to keep all intruders out of this garden filled with rare herbs and beautiful plants. From these she distills essences. From a large rose-tree (*rosendorn*) she obtains rose-water for bathing. This tree is trained in a ring and gives shade enough for twelve knights. By chance one of the plants causes one of her members to talk. Thus ingeniously the debate between the girl and her body is introduced. The *Rosengarten* is not mentioned again in the *schwank* and indeed seems to be forgotten in a later mention of the scene, p. 27.

Elsewhere the *Rosengarten* appears in a variety of connections. In *märchen* and tradition it is the garden of a dwarf or of some supernatural creature, e. g., Rübezahl. In *Laurin* the theme is combined with the maiden-robbing dwarf. In the various *Rosengarten* epics, the garden belongs to either Gibeck or Kriemhild. In these the theme is combined with the story of the combat between the twelve champions of Dietrich and of Kriemhild. In the *märchen* and the epics the garden is said to contain rare and delightful plants, in particular, roses. In these, too, the owner vigorously resents any violation of its boundaries. The same name is further attached to a variety of places, of which some are or have been burial grounds. In still other instances the spot seems to have had some particular significance in Germanic religion. The name is also associated with the Germanic Paradise. The relations of all these different *Rosengärten* is still a matter of dispute.³

² Cf. Liebrecht, *Germania*, I, 262 (refers to Keller, *Erzählungen aus altdeutschen Handschriften*, pp. 435, 437, 443); Bédier, *Les Fabliaux*,² p. 453 (v); J. J. Meyer, *Isoldes Gottesurteil*, 242, N. 47. On the separation of this part of the body, cf. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 412; *Des trois dames qui trouvèrent . . .*, Montaignon-Raynaud, *Rec. gen.*, v, 32; *De la sorisete des Estopes*, *ibid.*, II, 158. On the speaking of this part, cf. *Zs. f. vgl. Literaturgesch.*, XII (1899), 106; *Zs. d. V. f. Vlk.*, IX, 141; Ward, *Cat. of Romances*, I, 816; Chamberlain, *Aino Folk Tales*, p. 47. The foregoing references are illustrative rather than exhaustive.

³ Boer in *Die Dichtungen vom Rosengarten zu Worms*, AfnF, XXIV, 138 ff., 276 ff. upholds the theory that the *Rosengarten* of the epics is not mythical in origin; for the opposing view, cf. Holz, *Die Gedichte vom Rosengarten zu Worms*, Halle, 1893, Einl., p. c and following and E. H. Meyer, *Germanische Mythologie*, Berlin, 1891, p. 126. In further investigation the undeservedly neglected monograph by Ed. Jacobs, *Rosengarten im deutschen Lied, Land*

As long as we do not know the source of *Der wize Rosendorn* it is impossible to say whether the combination of the *Rosengarten* theme and the obscene *schwank* was suggested by the presumably French original or whether it was due to the German narrator. The absence of analogues in French and their abundance in German material render it rather more probable that the *wurzgarten* is of German origin. The resemblances to the *Rosengarten* of the epics are quite unmistakable. That the *rosendorn* could give shade for *twelve* knights is also suggestive of some connection. On the other hand there are features which suggest association with popular belief, *i. e.*, bathing before sunrise. The description of the *wurzgarten* is not at all in the spirit of chivalry and the romances.

This parallel is of especial interest because it is another example of the *Rosengarten* theme as a floating one which could be combined with other stories and which was current in this form in Germany. From this point of view it is of importance in the discussion of the origins of the *Rosengarten* epics.

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CHAUCEER AND RICHMOND

That exquisite vision of bereavement, Chaucer's *Book of the Duchess* or *Death of Blanche*, is near its close. The disconsolate husband, John of Gaunt, the great Duke of Lancaster, has narrated amid the shadows of a dream forest the touching story of his love and loss to the sympathetic Dreamer. The royal hunt, whose echoes have been ringing throughout the elegy, is over, and the "king," supposedly the Duke's father, Edward III, rides homeward unto a place which is very near,

A long castel with walles whyte,
By Seynt Iohan! on a riche hil.

Now let us read Professor Skeat's comment:

"Possibly the *long castel* here meant is Windsor Castle; this seems likely when we remember that it was in Windsor Castle that Edward III instituted the order of the Garter, April 23, 1349; and that he often resided there. A *riche hil* in the next line appears to have no special significance. The suggestion, in Bell's Chaucer, that it refers to Richmond (which, after all, is not Windsor) is

und Brauch, mit besonderer Beziehung auf die thüringischsächsische Provinz, Neujahrsblätter, No. 21, hrsg. v. d. hist. Kommission der Provinz Sachsen, Halle, 1897 should be consulted. I am indebted to my friend Robert P. More for these references.

quite out of the question, because that town was then called Sheen, and did not receive the name of Richmond till the reign of Henry VII, who renamed it after Richmond in Yorkshire, whence his own title of Earl of Richmond had been derived."

This would seem to settle the matter. Even the "prophetic soul" of Chaucer, wafted on the wings of dream, could hardly pierce so far the mists of futurity. But wait a moment. There is another Richmond in the field. Is not the "castle on a rich hill" that mighty Yorkshire Richmond or Richemont, which in this year of Blanche's death, 1369, was John of Gaunt's own? Etymology and history both speak loudly for this famous castle of the North. "Richemont"—the frequent fourteenth-century form of the name—might well be rendered "rich hill" by the poet who, in this very elegy, dubs Blanche, "Whyte," and who elsewhere calls Oliver Mauny ("mau ni"), "wicked nest" and plays upon the "beast"—suggesting surname of Philip Vache. This lofty stronghold, begun by Alain de Bretagne in the Conqueror's days, held proudly by the Dukes of Brittany for many generations, and completed in this very fourteenth century, came into John of Gaunt's possession at the tender age of two, when he was created, on September 29, 1342, Earl of Richmond. This was his title, when he married at nineteen, in May, 1359, his cousin, Blanche of Lancaster. The greater title, gained through her when her father died two years later, effaced the less; but at the time of Blanche's death, indeed until John's second marriage in 1372, Richemont was his. Thus for thirty years he was lord of this stately castle. And we may be sure that at no time during those thirty years could a poet fond of just such word-play introduce into John's story a "castle on a rich hill"—coupling it with the prince's name-saint (By St. John!)—without suggesting to every reader Richemont.

Now Chaucer speaks of the castle as if he knew it. It is a "long castle with walls white." Is it sheer coincidence that Richmond, far above the brawling Swale, is even to-day noted not more for the dizzy height of its Norman Keep than for the length of its walls, six hundred and fifty yards, the third of a mile, in circuit? Richemont was certainly "long." And if "white" is to be deemed here as distinctive as Ruskin found Byron's "snow-white battlement" of Chillon, what English castle could the epithet better fit than Yorkshire Richemont with the newly reared walls of its Hall of Scolland, so large a part of this splendid building? Fascinating vistas of conjecture are opened to us who recall that Chaucer was in Yorkshire at Hatfield, a youthful page of the Countess of Ulster, when a boy of near his age, the young Earl of Richmond, paid in 1357 a visit to his sister-in-law, the Countess. Richmond is but a county's length away from Hatfield. Did Chaucer visit it then in the train of the young John? Or did he come to know it some years later when Walter de Ursewyk was its constable—the same

Walter who levied in 1366 Yorkshire bowmen for John fighting in France and who won by marriage the arms of Scrope which Chaucer knew so well? Was it in these days that he mastered the dialect of the Northern students of his *Reeve's Tale*? All this is pleasing guess-work.

It is not, however, mere guess-work that, by the identification of "rich hill" with Richemont, Chaucer's earliest original work of note is, like Spenser's, closely associated with the North. May we mark the interesting coincidence that this particular corner of Yorkshire is linked with yet another of Chaucer's great contemporaries? John Leland tells us in his famous *Itinerary*: "They say that John Wyclif, Hereticus, was borne at Spreswell, a poore village, a good myle from Richemont." It is a pretty coincidence, too, that to the country near Richmond belongs another poetic record of "hart-hunting,"—Wordsworth's *Hart-Leap Well*.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Lay of Havelok the Dane. Re-edited from MS. Laud Misc. 108 in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, by the Rev. Walter W. Skeat. Second edition revised by K. Sisam (Oxford, At the Clarendon Press, 1915). The first edition of this excellent text-book is dated 1902. Since then, to quote Mr. Sisam's words, "the criticism of *Havelok* has been greatly advanced by the work of Heyman [*Studies on the Havelok Tale*, Upsala, 1903] and Deutschbein [*Studien zur Sagengeschichte Englands, I. Teil: Die Wikingersagen: Hornsage, Haveloksage, Tristansage, Boevesage, Guy of Warwicksage*, Cöthen, Otto Schulze, 1906] on the story, by Holthausen's second edition [1910], and Professor Skeat's discovery of the Cambridge Fragments." But this current of "studies" flows on, as it should, and an article entitled "The Author of *Havelok the Dane*" (*Engl. Stud.* 48, 193-212) has appeared simultaneously with Sisam's revision. The writer of this last contribution to the subject contends that the English form of the romance lays bare the characteristics of an independent author, who "was not far removed from the audience which he addressed, and that he steeped his tale, not in the atmosphere of conventional romance, as most minstrels would have done, not in the atmosphere of the Vikings, but in the atmosphere of contemporary, commonplace England." So far as its author has re-traced the distinctive features of the English romance, there is merit in this article. Resuming the account of Mr. Sisam's edition, there is offered a "remodelled" Introduction; text and foot-

notes with slight changes (slight because of the stereotyped plates) to secure closer conformity to the ms.; Notes, however, that "are for the most part new"; and a thoro revision of what was already an excellent Glossary. Altogether new is the added text of the Cambridge Fragments, printed with the utmost accuracy.

Skeat's Introduction of sixty pages has been "remodelled" into forty. This contraction represents both a loss and a gain. The excising hand has removed many a line or paragraph, by which Skeat in his unhurried and rather discursive manner had meant to impart a wider interest to the matter in hand or to record contributory observations. The difference between the method of the earlier and that of the later editor may be seen at once by comparing the two forms of §3. The new section is shortened by a page, but by his accuracy in revision and his selection of pertinent details, Mr. Sisam has fully justified the change. On the other hand, Mr. Sisam has rejected an opportunity in his section on "Minor Versions" to engage the reader's attention in an entertaining and instructive manner. Skeat (§30) could not let the matter pass so lightly, and did enough in his enumeration of "the various forms of the story *later* than the English Lay" to give the hint for a chapter on the diffusion of stories that could be made attractive to the beginner, and valuable to the scholar for the exhibition of principles and methods in literary history. Nor has Mr. Sisam availed himself of the opportunity to write up in the best fashion the results of the efforts made by scholars to identify the historic elements of the story. The apology that only a "few weeks were available for the task of revision" cannot be accepted as satisfactory in so important a matter. It is right to ask, Why this haste? Is it dealing fairly with those for whom the book is intended to put forth hasty and incomplete work to be kept in use during the years this revision may meet the demands of the sales-room? Such questioning is not rightly answered by urging the fact that in this matter the latest investigators have arrived at no complete result, that they contend chiefly for denials of this and suppositions of that. Involved in the problem is too much of important national history and tradition to be disposed of in a few over-compressed paragraphs. At this point the reviser should have adhered more closely to Skeat's method and recounted in brief form the available records of persons and places, so as to show in what the difficulties of the problem consist. The inadequacy of this portion of Mr. Sisam's Introduction impels one to remind authors of text-books that Skeat never committed the too common mistake of not keeping in mind thruout an entire book a definite class of readers. He never made sudden transitions from lucidity and completeness into pre-suppositions thru which only the specialist could follow. His aim was to make all equally apprehensible to the particular reader he had in mind. Within the necessary limits of this notice, no parts of Mr. Sisam's work can be treated in detail. It is gratifying to

notice the excellence of his style, which is graceful and classic in its purity. He handles grammatical and metrical matter with clearness and notable accuracy. His notes are scholarly and compact, but never obscure. He is direct and business-like (as the expression goes), and proves himself equipped for the best grade of editorial work. One might dispute minor details, found here and there, or prefer a changed method of statement. Thus, in transferring from Skeat (p. xxiii) observations on *to* and on a use of the infinitive, Mr. Sisam (p. xxxvii) might have disposed of a simple matter by giving a useful definition of the "separable prefix," which should be understood as a separate adverb (the cited substantive *tō-gang* being subject to a different law of accentuation); and he should not have perpetuated the misleading statement that "the infinitive mood active [in some peculiar constructions] partakes of a passive significance." Finally, it will be found that the Introduction has been improved in the order and balance of its parts, and with advantage reduced in the number of pages at the sections relating to the language and meter of the poem,—sections that show admirably the learning and editorial skill of the reviser.

J. W. B.

Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* of 1494 is one of the most important of German incunabula, not merely because there are no manuscripts extant, but also from the fact that we know that it was printed under the direct supervision of the author, who was an experienced proof-reader. Zarncke's edition (1854) gave a worthy reproduction of the text, but had to limit itself to a verbal description of the wood-cuts, which are so intimately connected with the text. This defect has now been remedied by the simultaneous appearance of two fac-simile editions. The one, prepared by Hans Kogler for the *Gesellschaft der Bibliophilen* (Weimar, 1913), gives an exact reproduction of the edition of 1494, without any explanatory matter, however, altho the temporary binding in which the volume is furnished seems to indicate that it is to be supplemented by a *Nachwort* of some sort. The other edition by Franz Schultz constitutes the first number of the publications of the *Gesellschaft für Elsässische Literatur*, (Strassburg, Karl J. Trübner, 1913) and offers in addition to the fac-simile text an introduction of 56 pages, dealing in the main with questions pertaining to the wood-cuts. These vary at times in the different copies,—e. g., on pp. 188, 217, 252, the two editions, made from different copies, offer different illustrations, whereas on pp. 26, 172, 178, for which differences are also noted by Schultz, the copies agree. The last page of the text proper (312), with the printer's name, seems to exist in as many as four different states, to judge from the reproductions in the two editions. Other textual differences

are noted by Schultz on pp. xii—xv, and a comparison of the leaves in question in the two fac-similes reveals additional differences, overlooked by the editor. For example, *hat*—*hatt*, p. 51, 5; *wil*—*vil*, 51, 15; *vil*—*wil*, 51, 21; *Und*, 51, 26; *keyn*—*Keyn*, 51, 30. Additional passages occur on pp. 52, 61, 62. These textual variations can be found in all early printed books of considerable size, particularly in the German Bibles of the fifteenth century, in some of which a double and even three-fold setting of various leaves can be noted. A discussion of the causes of these double printings, which Schultz is unable to explain, would lead us too far.

When Zarncke published his edition of the *Narrenschiff* in 1854, the edition of Rostock, 1519 (edited by C. Schroeder, 1892), was considered to be the earliest Low German version. In 1867 Zarncke discovered that the Library of the British Museum contained a Low German edition of Lübeck, 1497, and in 1900 Borchling discovered a second copy in the Royal Library at Stockholm. This oldest Low German version has now been made accessible by Herman Brandes: *Dat Narrenschyp* von Hans Van Ghetelen (Halle, Niemeyer, 1914). Both of the extant copies of the original are slightly imperfect, but the editor, strange to say, did not use the Stockholm copy to complete that of the British Museum, but used instead the Rostock edition of 1519, because it was more accessible. The translation, as may be seen from the title given above, is ascribed by the editor to Hans Van Ghetelen, and the book itself is assigned to the so-called *Mohnkopfdruckerei* at Lübeck, the other productions of which are enumerated on p. xxi. These data will probably stand the test of time, but at any rate it would be no more than proper either to have the title page anonymous, as in the original, or else to add the name of Sebastian Brant.

W. K.

Richard Misyn's English translation (1435) of Richard Rolle of Hampole's *Incendium Amoris* was published many years ago by the Early English Text Society and this version has latterly (1914) been done into English by Frances M. M. Comper. If we except, however, the autobiographical chapter (ch. 15), which was included in early editions of Rolle's writings, the work in its original Latin form still remained unprinted up to last year, when an edition of it, by Margaret Deanesly, was issued under the auspices of the University of Manchester (Longmans, Green & Co.). The treatise does not leave on the reader who is familiar with the religious literature of the Middle Ages any marked impression of originality, and it is inferior in interest to the best of the same author's tracts in English; but Rolle is so important a figure in the history of English mysticism that an edition of the present work was desirable, and Miss Deanesly has accomplished her task with exemplary thoroughness. To be sure, her way had already been smoothed to a considerable extent by the researches of Miss Hope Allen of Rad-

cliffe College, whose striking article on the authorship of *The Prick of Conscience* (Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 15) will be remembered by students of Rolle. Miss Allen made the happy discovery of the best manuscript—Emmanuel College, Cambridge, ms. 35—of the *Incendium Amoris*, and she also supplied Miss Deanesly with a list of the other manuscripts of the work, of which in England alone there are twenty-six, all described with full details in the present edition. Not many years after the composition of the original treatise a shortened redaction came into circulation, and by a singular accident the best text of the *Incendium Amoris*—that which constitutes the basis of Miss Deanesly's edition—is found in a manuscript (the above-mentioned Emmanuel College, ms. 35) of this abbreviated version into which the missing portions of the original text were copied from Rolle's autograph copy of the work in its authentic form. The person who entered these missing portions—and from Rolle's own copy, as he tells us,—was John Newton, treasurer of York Cathedral in the late fourteenth century, and for a time, also, Master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. In her Introduction Miss Deanesly gives (compiled from documentary sources) a biographical sketch of this worthy, and also an account of the foundation of Sion Abbey. Newton's manuscript belonged to a Brigittine sister of this abbey in the early years of the sixteenth century.

J. D. B.

In his *Elementary Grammar of Colloquial French on Phonetic Basis* (W. Heffer & Sons, Cambridge, 1915, viii + 181 pp.), Mr. G. Bonnard, Professeur au Gymnase de Lausanne, has attempted to restate grammatical principles from the point of view of sound-change. Some interesting conclusions are reached. For example, "Most nouns have in the plural the same form as in the singular" (p. 12), and "Adjectives ending in a consonant in the masculine have, as a rule, only one form for both masculine and feminine" (p. 15). Naturally, important exceptions are noted in each case. A knowledge of phonetics being presupposed, paradigms, forms, and examples are printed in the script of the *Association phonétique internationale*; but close *o*, instead of open *o*, is nasalized throughout the book, and other modifications are noted (p. 2 ff.). As a grammar, the book has little, if any, value for elementary work, on account of the absence of exercises, questionnaires, and reviews; and its usefulness for reference or for advanced study is seriously impaired by its incompleteness (*cf.* title). If the strictly phonetic method is "well on the way to becoming general" (p. vi), and if "a need has arisen for a French Grammar suitable for those learning the language on these lines" (p. vi), the present work can hardly be said to supply the need satisfactorily.

H. S. W.



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